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THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE

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BY

J. M. SOMASUNDARAM.

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THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

—'By far the grandest Temple in India'
—Encyclopædia Brittanica.

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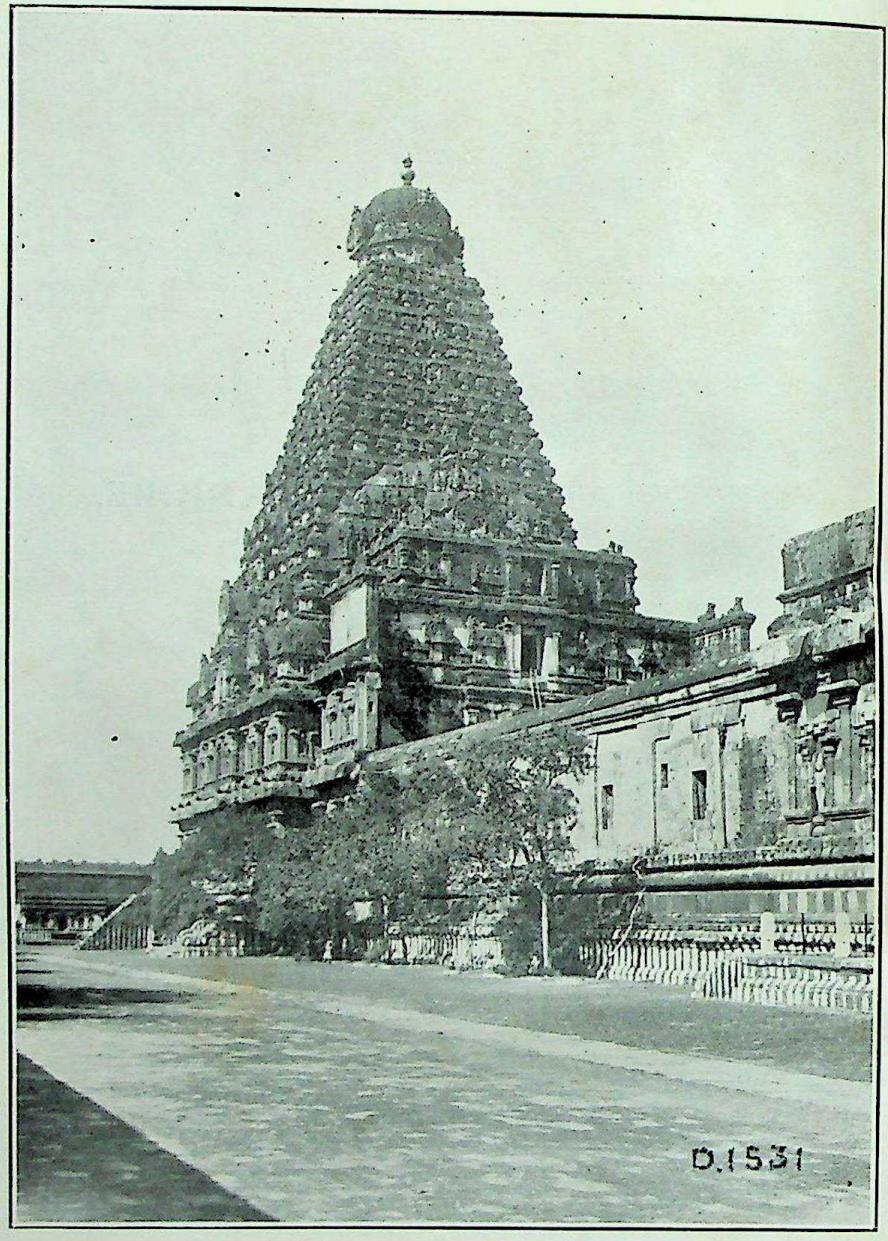

Details of the Vimana over the sanctum of Sri Brihadisvara Temple.

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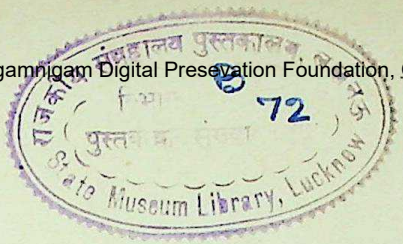

The Great Temple at Tanjore

BY

J. M. SOMASUNDARAM, B.A., B.L.

With a Foreword by

F. H. GRAVELY, D.Sc.

PRINTED AT SOLDEN & CO., MADRAS, S. E.

1935

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PREFACE.

This little book on the Sri Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, owes its origin to a wish to supply the long-felt want of a connected account of a great Chola edifice, considered to be "by far the grandest in India". The monumental archæological series of Hultzsch and Venkayya, and the literature that has gathered round the temple during the last 40 years and more would form a life study for one interested in the beginnings of South Indian History and Temple architecture. An attempt, however, is here made to place within a small compass what all that might interest a casual visitor. If the book would help him to a better understanding of, and a further search for knowledge about the temple than what he finds on a mere visit to this great House of God, the author would be more than content.

Among the many friends who have kindly helped me in this task my special thanks are due to Dr. M. Krishnamachariar, M.A., M.L., Ph. D., etc., Madras Judicial Service, whose first suggestion to me for a Monograph and to contribute articles on these subjects to the Press was encouraging; to Messrs. C. Vedachalam, B.A., B.L., and T. N. Ramachandran, M.A., for much valuable criticisms and suggestions which have been of great assistance to me; to Mr. Richard Chinnathambi, M.A., for compiling the Index; to Dr. A. J. Pandyan for his generous contribution of many valuable photographs which illustrates this book; and to the Director-General of Archæology in India for kind permission to reproduce some of the departmental series.

My gratitude is due to the Senior Prince and Hereditary Trustee of the Tanjore Palace Devastanams Rajashri Rajahram Rajah Saheb for his appreciation and encouragement in this task.

My grateful thanks are due to Dr. F. H. Gravely, D.Sc., Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, for his valuable Foreword to this book.

'Rajarajesvaram,'
Tanjore.
27th September 1935.

Tanjore Palace Devastanams.

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FOREWORD.

When the Pallava kings of Conjeevaram, the makers of the earliest surviving temples of the Tamil country, were finally subjugated by the Cholas of the Cauvery delta, marked changes occurred in architectural decoration. Some of these changes were due to developments already noticeable in later Pallava times, but others—such as that found in the corbel—are so abrupt as to suggest that they may have originated in the Chola kingdom during Pallava times, in buildings which have failed to stand the ravages of time.

The Cholas were great temple builders and the architecture of the Tamil country underwent such development during their supremacy of about five hundred years (roughly 850—1350 A.D.) that it has been found convenient to differentiate between an Earlier and Later Chola architectural period of about 250 years each. The temples of Tanjore and Gangai-Konda-Cholapuram belong to the former and those of Chidambaram and Tiruvannamalai to the latter The Early Cholas, like the Pallavas before them, planned and built entirely new temples on such sites as seemed most suitable, whereas the Later Cholas seem to have preferred to enlarge temples already existing on ancient sacred sites. In Early Chola temples, therefore, the *vimana* or shrine with its square-based pyramidal tower was naturally made to dominate all other parts of the building, but in Later Chola temples *vimana* towers are apt to be quite inconspicuous, presumably retaining very much their original size, while the *gopuras* or gateway towers come to be much larger, and are often immense. Sculptural decoration, too, is much simpler and more restrained in Early Chola temples than in Later Chola ones, which form a natural transition from the former to the still more elaborately decorated temples of the 250 years of the

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Vijayanagar empire and of the Modern architectural period which begins with the fall of the Vijayanagar empire in about 1600 A. D.

The Rajarajesvara or Sri Brihadisvara temple of Tanjore was erected by Rajaraja the Great (985—1014 A D.) and, being still in excellent preservation, remains as the most magnificent monument of the power and ability of the early Cholas. But, as will be seen from Mr. Somasundaram's interesting description, some of the structures now associated with it are of more recent origin, enabling one, without leaving the temple enclosure, to study not only the style of the Early Cholas but also something of the more ornate style of the Modern architectural period to which it was destined eventually to give rise. The excessive elaboration characteristic of this latter period is apt to be tiring and bewildering rather than beautiful; but the Subrahmanya shrine of the Tanjore temple, in which we see it at its best, cannot but be admired. And this little shrine is not only a gem in itself, but forms a most interesting and instructive contrast to the great temple beside which it stands.

South Indian temples deserve to be better known and more widely understood than they are, and to appreciate them adequately some knowledge of their history, etc., is necessary. In preparing this account of the Tanjore temple Mr. Somasundaram has put into convenient form for visitors and others the chief historical and traditional points of interest relating to it. Such guides are still badly needed for nearly all the more important places of interest in South India, and I heartily recommend this one to all who want to know something about Tanjore.

GOVERNMENT MUSEUM,
MADRAS.
18th September 1935.

F. H GRAVELY.

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THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE.

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AN ANNOUNCEMENT.

Sri Kasi Mutt, Tirupanandal, Tanjore District.

One Thousand (1,000) Rupees Prize for Tamil.

With a view to award annually a prize of Rupees One Thousand to the candidate that stands first in the first class in Tamil on first appearance in the Oriental Title (Vidwan) Final Examination under Regulation 7-D of the University of Madras, and, with a view to make an endowment therefor Sri-la-sri Kasi Vasi Swaminatha Swamigal Avl. of Sri Kasi Mutt, Tirupanandal, has insured his life for Rupees Forty Thousand in "*The Manufacturers' Life Insurance Company*" at Toronto, Canada, taking Policy number 446416 dated the 1st day of August 1923, which matures on the 1st day of August 1943, and for which premiums amounting to Rupees Twenty-five Thousand and eighty (25,080) have been paid by His Holiness till this date.

I am glad to say that Vidwans Messrs. V. M. Subramania Ayyar, Tamil Pandit, Madras Christian College, A. Boovaraham Pillai, Tamil Pandit, Annamalai University, K. Sundaramurthi Ayyar, M.A., T. A. Palaniappa Pillai, Tamil Pandit, Annamalai University, K. V. Jagannatha Ayyar, Research Student, Madras University, and A. S. Narayanaswamy Naidu, Tamil Pandit, Municipal High School, Tirupur, were the recipients of the prize in the years 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933 and 1934 respectively, at public meetings held for the purpose of the award under the presidencies of Brahmasri Mahamahopadyaya Dakshinathyakalanidhi Dr. U. V. Swaminatha Ayyer Avl., Dr. Sir. P. S. Sivasvami Ayyer Avl., The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur S. Kumaraswami Reddiar Avl., Minister for Education with the Govern nent of Madras, Srimath Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi Maharaja Avl. of Ramnad, Sir. T. Desikachariar Avl, Advocate, Trichinopoly, and M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar Avl., B.A., B.L., M.L.C., Advocate, Coimbatore.

This year M. R. Ry. Vidwan M. Varadaraja Mudaliar Avl., Tamil Pandit, Municipal High School, Tiruppattur (North Arcot Dt), is the recipient of the Prize, and it is awarded today at Vellore at a public meeting under the prisidency or Mr. S. Ranganathan, I.C.S., Collector, North Arcot.

In case more candidates than one obtain an equal number of marks standing first in the first class on first appearance in the Final Examination as aforesaid, the Prize-Winner will be selected with the grace of the Almighty by the casting of lots in the presence of respectable gentlemen.

I make this announcement in the hope that such Tamil students as peruse this will study Tamil with great diligence so as to win the Prize.

KASI MUTT,
TIRUPANANDAL,
30-11-1935.

SUBBARAYA PILLAI,
Supervisor.

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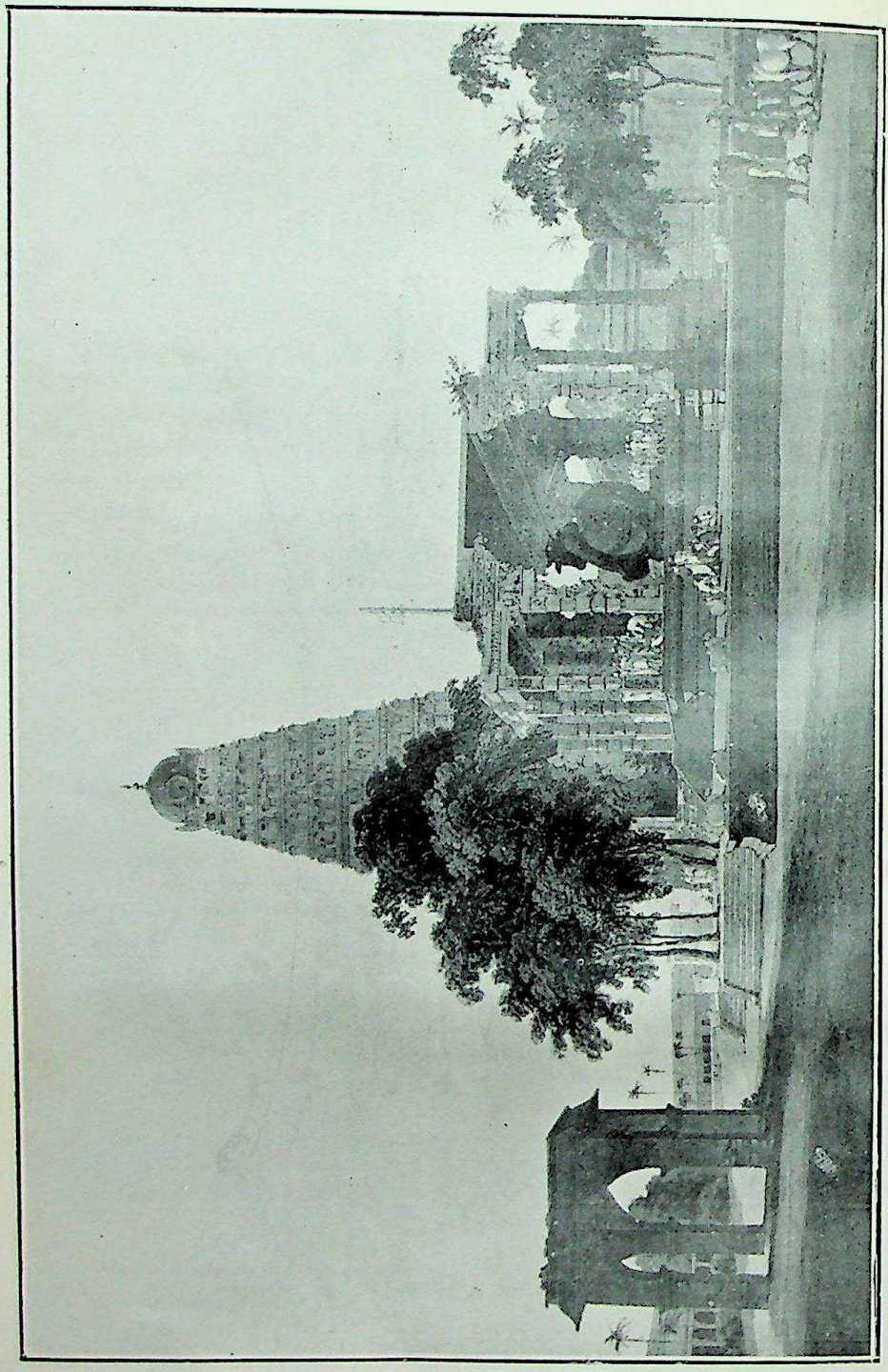

Sri Brihadisvara Temple in 1798 (From a painting.)

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The Great Temple at Tanjore.

THE RAJARAJESVARAM—TEMPLE OF SRI BRIHADISVARA—AT TANJORE.

Tanjore, the royal city of the Cholas, the Nayaks, and the Mahrattas, is the eighth largest in the Presidency, and, is on the main line of the South Indian Railway, 218 miles south of Madras. It lies in N. Lat. 10°-47 E. long. 79-10'24 ", and is set amidst the vast deltaic tract of the Cauvery, known as the Garden of South India. As the capital of a succession of ancient Hindu dynasties, and, in all ages, one of the chief political, literary and religious centres of the South, the city is full of interesting associations.

Tanjavur or Tanjore derives its name from Tanjan—an *asura* (giant) who according to local legend devastated the neighbourhood and was killed by Sri Anandavalli Amman and Vishnu, Sri Nilameghapperumal. Tanjan's dying request that the city might be named after him was granted. This tradition is perpetuated by the temple of Sri Tanjapurisvara and Anandavalli Amman, and the temple of Sri Nilameghapperumal, originally built in Vambulamsolai,[1] and later removed to the bank of the Vennar, two miles north of the city. Another derivation of the name is from *Tanjam* or refuge

(1) எம்பிரான் எந்தை என்னுடைச்சுற்றம்,
எனக்கரசு என்னுடை வாணுள்
அம்பினல் அரக்கர் வெருக்கொள நெருக்கி
அவருயிர் செகுத்த எம் அண்ணல்
வம்புலாம் சோலை மாமதிள்
தஞ்சை மாமணிக் கோயிலே வணங்கி
நம்பிகாள்! உய்ய நான் கண்டு கொண்டேன்
நாராயண வென்னும் நாமம்!

திருமங்கையாழ்வார், i.—6

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which makes it mean 'the City of refuge'. The *Tanjapuri-Mahatmya* derives the name from Tunga or Kulottunga, a Chola king who according to this Sthalapurana built Tanjore and named it Tungapura after him. This does not seem to be borne out by any historical account. The city also goes by the name of Alagai—அளகை as tradition says that Kubera stayed and worshipped here.

The city has passed through various vicissitudes of fortune. Within historical times, Tanjore has been the capital of the Muttaraiyars (முத்தரையர்), and next, that of the later Cholas (during the 9th and 10th centuries) from the time Vijayalaya [1] (A. D. 846-880) the founder of that line, conquered it from the Muttaraiyars and selected it as his capital in preference to Uraiyur (now a suburb of Trichinopoly), the seat of the ancient Cholas; later it was a mere royal residence when Rajendra I (A. D.

(1) *Vijayalaya and Tanjore.*—The Kanyakumari stone inscription of the Chola Virarajendra Deva (See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 42) says: "He (Vijayalaya) established in the Chola country, the City of Tanjapuri which was praised even by Brahma and other Gods, and which flourished with all good qualities being *a newly founded town*" (vv. 54). Vijayalaya is here said to have constructed anew the city of Tanjapuri in the Chola Country. But the Tiruvalangadu grant of Rajendra I, which is earlier than the Kanyakumari record, distinctly mentions that Vijayalaya took the city by force (*jagraha*) and set up in it the image of Nisumbhasudani (Durga). Relying on this record which may be taken to record the truth, we conclude that the City was seized from the Muttaraiyars, the vassals of the Pallavas, by Vijayalaya (see *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIII, p. 136). The consecration of the image of Nisumbhasudani in the city is recorded in verse 45 of the Tiruvalangadu grant as "Having next consecrated there (the image of) Nisumbhasudani, whose lotus feet are worshipped by Gods and demons, he by the grace of that goddess bore just (as easily) as a garland (the weight of) the whole earth resplendent with her garment of the four oceans" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418). This temple of Nisumbhasudani does not exist now at Tanjore. But there is a famous shrine of Kali—Sri Kodi Amman, at the western gate of the fort, known popularly as Pachchaikkali and Pavalakkali. These dual forms are locally associated with the conflict of the Deity with Tanjan, the *Asura* and the rescue of the city from him. The annual festivities of the goddness in her double coloured form are celebrated with great devotion. The conquest of the city by Vijayalaya is described in the Tiruvalangadu plates (*S.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 418) thus:—

"He took possession of the town *Tanchapuri* which was picturesque to the sight, was as beautiful as Alaka, had reached the sky (by its high turrets) and the white wash of (whose) mansions (appearad like) the scented cosmetic (applied to the body) just as he would seize (by the hand) his own wife who has beautiful eyes, graceful curls, a cloth covering (her body) and sandal paste as (white as) lime in order to sport with her." The name Tanchapuri continued down to the Vijayanagar times (1500 A. D.), the country being called தஞ்சை ராஜ்யம் (vide *Ep. Ind*, Vol IX, p. 340)—T. N. R.

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1012—45) removed the capital to Gangaikondacholapuram [1]; it was a city of some importance under the later Pandyas and the Hoysalas in the 13th century, and one of comparative obscurity in the years intervening between the invasion (A.D. 1310) of Malik Kafur—the general of Allaudin Khilji—and the establishment of the Vijayanagar sway over Tanjore about A. D. 1534.[2] Sevvappa Nayak (A.D. 1549—72), an erstwhile viceroy of that Empire, assumed independence and founded the dynasty of the Tanjore Nayaks. Tanjore was his capital, and it remained so for the next one hundred and twenty-five years till Vijayaraghava—the last prince of the line—perished in a tragic but heroic fight with Chokkanatha of Madura in A. D. 1662. The next fourteen years saw the rule of his General, Alagiri, who soon assumed a large measure of independence which his master was unable to dispute. The claim to the Nayak throne through Sengamaladas, the infant son of Vijayaraghava brought on the scene the Bijapur king and his general [3]. The latter —Venkaji *alias* Ekoji—was the half brother of Sivaji the Great. He defeated Alagiri, and, aided by the dissensions in the young Nayak's party seized the throne for himself, founding in A. D. 1676 the next dynasty of rulers—the Mahrattas—who for another one hundred and seventy-nine years had their capital at Tanjore. During this period it witnessed the conflict of the Mahrattas with the Moghul, and, latterly with the Nawabs of the Carnatic and the French. The English first interfered in its affairs in A. D. 1749

(1) *Gangaikondacholapuram.*—The city of Rajendra, for many generations the capital of his successors on the confines of the Trichinopoly and South Arcot Districts, built and dedicated to Siva containing a great temple which is a counterpart in many respects of "Rajarajesvaram of Rajaraja at Tanjore commemorating the emperor's (Rajendra's) victories in North India. "Gangaikonda-Chola" was one of the '*birudas*' adopted by Rajendra in consequence. The Tiruvalangadu plates state that he got the vanquished kings of the North to carry the sacred water of the Ganges and pour it into the tank called poetically 'a liquid pillar of victory'—the great tank in the neighbourhood now known as the "Golden Lake."

(2) The last Chola was Virasekhara, the subversion of whose rule, was brought about by Nagama Nayak, the founder of the Madura Nayak dynasty in about A. D. 1530. *Vide Tanjavuri Andhra Rajulu Charitra*, Mackenzie Collection MS. No. 852, p. 82.

(3) *Tanjavuruvari Caritra*—A Telugu palm leaf manuscript in the Mackenzie collection is the source of valuable information regarding the Nayak period and of the subsequent conquest by the Mahrattas.

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with a view to the restoration of a deposed Raja, Saiyaji. In A.D. 1758 it was attacked by the French under Lally, and retaken by Colonel Joseph Smith in A. D. 1773. In A.D. 1776 the Tanjore Raj had become a protected State under the East India Company, its then ruler Tuljajee becoming a direct ally of the British. Haidar's devastations followed in A.D 1781 In A.D. 1799 Tanjore became a British principality and its ruler Sarafoji II was given the fort of Tanjore and an area outside it. His successor Sivaji died on October 29, A.D. 1855 without a male heir, direct or collateral, and with him the royal house became extinct. The Tanjore country thus passed directly under the British, its acquisition "never costing the British Government the life of a single soldier, nor the value of a single rupee,"[1] in the same manner as the Mahrattas had taken the country previously from the Nayaks.

Of the various rulers of the country, the Cholas seem to have left in the Great temple of Sri Brihadisvara a striking relic of their genius. This pagoda is "by far the grandest in India" [2]. No traveller to the East, especially to South India has missed a visit to this great edifice or failed to be impressed by its majesty and beauty. Successive Viceroys, Commanders-in-Chief, Provincial Governors, statesmen, politicians, philosophers and globe-trotters have paid their homage to this monument of Dravidian architecture. The visitors' book maintained

(1) *Vide* para 18 of Letter dated 6th November 1855 from the Resident, at Tanjore to the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. Georget "The Government will decide on the justice of the daughter's claim and on the policy of maintaining the Raj. In considering the question, they will not lose sight of the manner in which we became possessed of Tanjore—it is not a conquered country, its acquisition never cost the British Government the life of a single soldier nor the value of a single rupee, the cry of the orphans was never heard nor was the tear of widow ever shed, when the rule of the country passed from the Rajah to the hands of our Government In the forty years during which we have held possession we have in round numbers drawn from it a total revenue of no less than twenty crores or as many millions sterling. Neither Surfogee or Sivajee ever offered the smallest hindrance to our peaceable settlement of the country or in any degree whatever departed from the strictest adherence to the Treaty. Truly it deserves consideration how the Government shall act towards the last descendant of a royal line, to a daughter of those who, when their aid was needed were always our firm allies."

(2) *Vide* Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol. II, p. 396, 9th edition.

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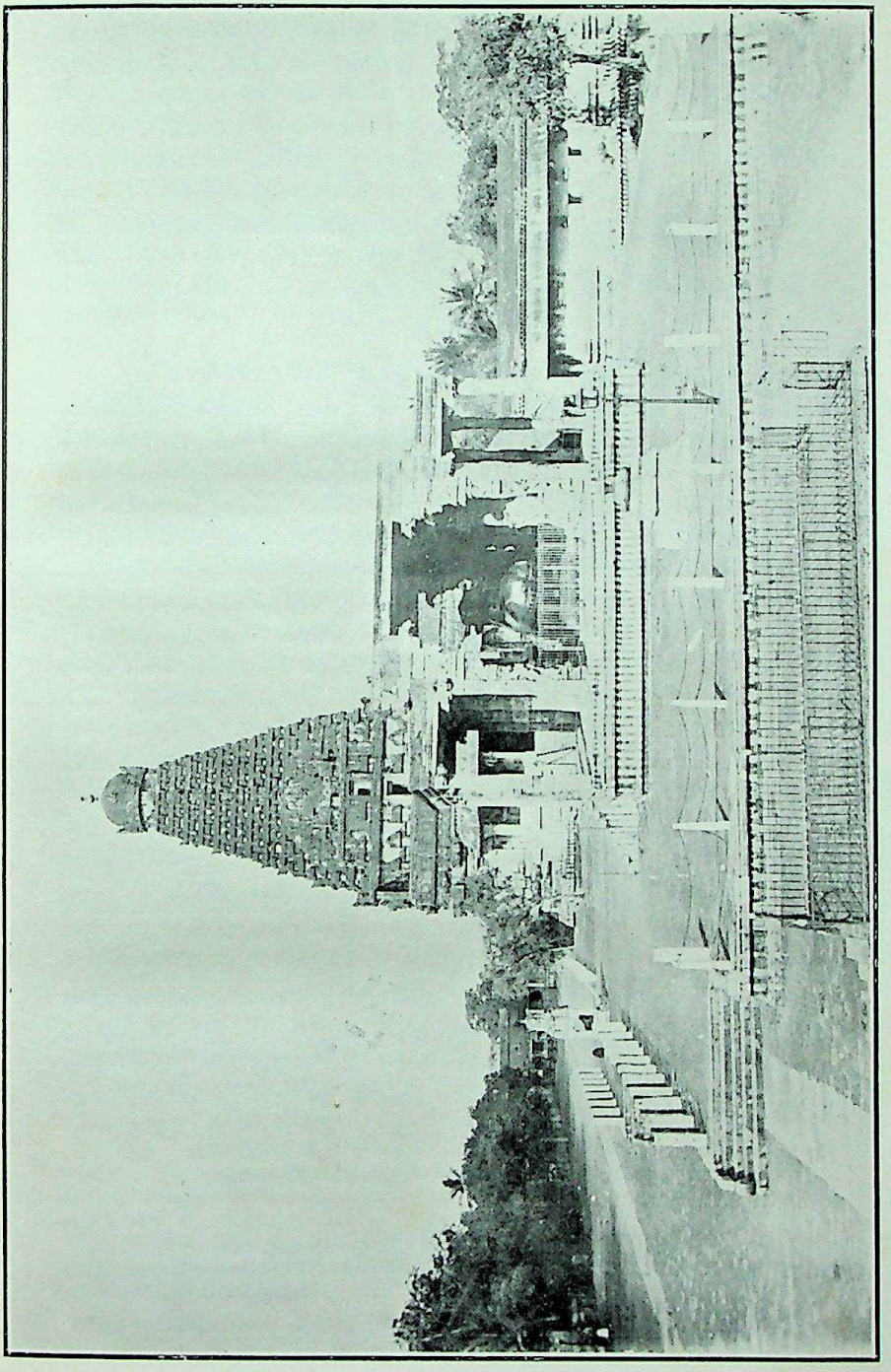

General view of Sri Brihadisvara Main Shrine with Nandi Mandapa.

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at the temple contains the signatures of a host of royal personages, and of peers, like Curzon, Kitchener and Connemara (to mention only a few) and well-known personalities like Keir Hardie, Ray and Gandhi. The temple stands within the small fort, commonly called the Sivaganga Fort, ascribed to Sevvappa, the first Nayak; and, the big fort which encircles the city and the palace was built by Vijayaraghava the last. It is possible that these two forts are renovations of the much earlier Chola fortifications.[1]

"To have conceived a great temple in that proportion, to have insured by cautious designing that beauty was not sacrificed to size and to have built it altogether of very fine granite from *Upana* to *Stupi* in a city far removed from any good quarry of building stone,[2] this is the glory of Rajaraja and his architects." It is also noteworthy that unlike other temples of the south, the temple was built with all the necessary adjuncts complete in the life-time of the founder, Rajaraja Chola I (A.D. 985—1014) himself "on a well defined and stately plan which was persevered in till its completion." The construction appears to have begun in the nineteenth year of his reign; and, the only inscriptional evidence on which to rely about the time when it was finished reads as follows:—

"In the twenty-fifth year of Rajaraja (A. D. 1009-10) on the 257th day of the year the king handed over the copper pot for the finial at the top of the Vimana"—It weighed about 235 lbs., and was overlaid with gold plate of the weight of 2926½ *kalanju* or nearly 35 lbs. Troy. It is thus seen that the temple was completed within a period of six years when he was not occupied with any great wars. The name 'Sri Rajaraja' occurs first in his own inscriptions of the nineteenth year of his reign, his

(1) "இனிய ரெத் தனேயும் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே"—கருவூர்த்தேவர்.
(திருவிசைப்பா, 10.)

(2) The stones seem to have been brought from the quarries of Mammalai, eight miles south-east of Trichinopoly, over a road of nearly thirty miles.—*Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 271.

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surname being 'Rajakesarivarman.' According to the *Kongudesarajakkal*, the king made certain gifts to the Chidambaram temple in Saka 926(=A. D. 1004). It is probable that the *birudas* "Sri Rajaraja" and "Sivapadasekhara" (one who has the feet of Siva as his crest) were conferred on him by the temple authorities at Chidambaram, and, this was perhaps the time when the king conceived the idea of building the temple at Tanjore and made arrangements for its construction.

Rajarajesvaram, as this temple was named by its founder, fills a large portion of the southern half of the smaller fort, encircled by a moat on the east and west, by the new Mettur channel (originally a moat into which the channel has been let) on the south, and, by the Sivaganga gardens on the north. The temple is entered by an imposing gateway on the east, on either side of which stand two small shrines dedicated to Ganapati and Subrahmanya, and further on through another *gopura* 90 feet high. This way leads into an outer court, used as an arsenal (for a time) by the French in A. D. 1772, and thirty years thereafter, again by the English. A second and more handsome *gopura* further on leads into the main court in which the temple is built. The court is about 500 feet long and 250 feet broad, is well paved with brick and stone, and is surrounded on all sides by a cloister (திருச்சுற்றுமாளிகை). The eastern and southern wings have now the temple *yaga-sala*, kitchen, store rooms and feeding halls. The western and northern wings have *Sivalingas* consecrated therein, and there are paintings over these walls depicting the sixty-four sacred sports of Siva. It is noteworthy that for all the vicissitudes the temple has passed through, it has suffered remarkably little damage. The outer measurements of the temple are 793 feet by 397 feet. (*Vide* Plan).

The main shrine of Sri Brihadisvara, the Great God பெருவுடையார், stands at the western end of the main court. It comprises five divisions—(1) *Garbhagriha* or the *Sanctum Sanctorum* and the corridor around it, (2) *Ardha-Mandapa*, (3) *Maha-Mandapa* with the open

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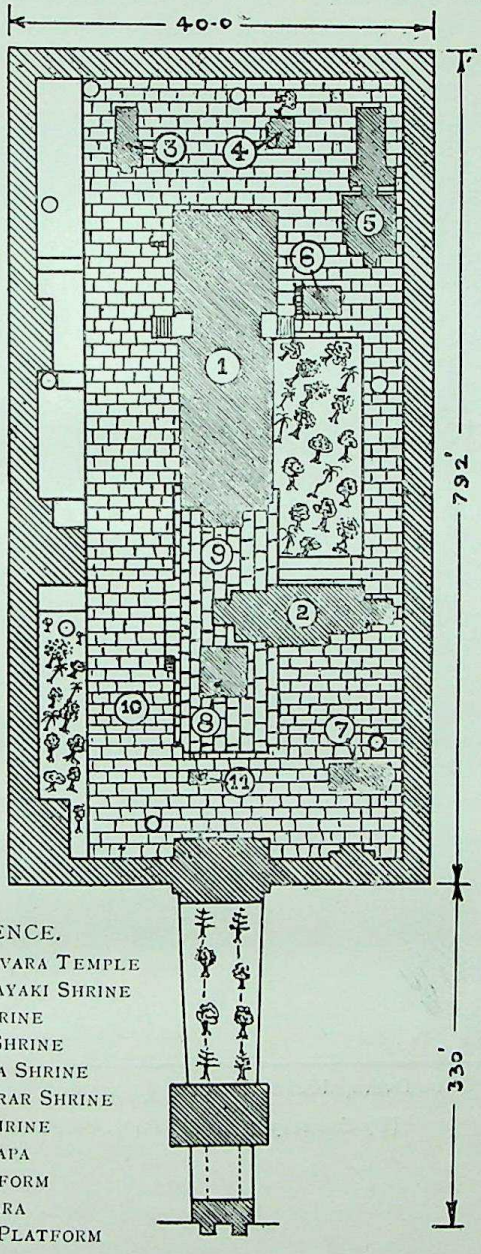
GROUND PLAN OF SRI BRIHADISVARA TEMPLE, TANJORE.



REFERENCE.

1. Sri Brihadisvara Temple
2. Sri Brihannayaki Shrine
3. Vinayaka Shrine
4. Karuvurar Shrine
5. Subrahmanya Shrine
6. Chandeshvarar Shrine
7. Nataraja Shrine
8. Nandi Mandapa
9. Raised Platform
10. Paved Prakara
11. Kuravanchi Platform

Brihadisvara Temple Road.

Scale 1" = 192 Feet.

(By Courtesy of Mr. T. P. Murugesam Pillai.)

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Stone Dvarapalaka at the Main Gopura Entrance.

[*By Courtesy of Mr. G. Pakkirisami Pillai.*]

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aisles, (4) *Stapana-Mandapa* with the shrine of Sri Tyagaraja, (5) *Narthana-Mandapa* for the temple paraphernalia, where servants wait, (6) *Vadya-Mandapa* and portico for the musicians. It has three main portals named *Keralantakan* கேரளாந்தகன்—*Rasarasan* ராசராசன் —and *Tiruanukkan* திருஅணுக்கன். These portals are guarded by *Dvarapalakas* or guardians of the gate. They are of huge proportions, and of exquisite workmanship. There are several sets of these in the temple, seven of them 18 feet by 8 feet. They are all monoliths, and in some instances are of very high artistic merit, especially those at the entrance to Sri Subrahmanya temple, which are of polished gneiss.

The *Sivalinga* of Sri Brihadisvara is probably the grandest in existence. This image was originally called Adavallan (one who is able to dance). Another name was Dakshina-Meru Vitankan. Both the names occur in *Tiruvisaippa* as the names of the deity at Chidambaram. It is possible, that these names given to the chief image in the temple, indicate that the Saiva creed derived its support at the time mainly from Chidambaram.[1] Rajaraja calls the image Rajarajesvaramudaiyar,—" The Lord of Rajarajesvaram." The deities are now known as Sri Brihadisvara, the great God, and Sri Brihannayaki, the great goddess—a Sanskrit rendering of the original Tamil names பெருவுடையார் and பெரியநாயகி. The tower over this shrine is named *Dakshina-Meru* after the abode of Lord Siva at Kailas, the *Uttara-Meru*. The religious rituals in this temple follow the *Makutagama*.[2]

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(1) Rajaraja's great-grand-father Parantaka I had distinguished himself by his devotion to the Chidambaram temple. He had either built or at least repaired the Golden Hall at the place. It was therefore quite natural that Rajaraja should try to imitate his famous ancestor in his devotion to that most sacred Siva temple in South India. Practical as he appears to have been in everything he did, the king was not forgetful of his capital, Tanjore where he wanted to demonstrate his devotion to the Saiva religion, and accordingly built a temple there. In order to perpetuate the title " Sri Rajaraja " which he must have prized very highly, the temple was called " Rajarajesvaram ".

(2) *Vide* Tanjore Palace Saraswati Mahal Library MS. Grantha—No. 15269 and Burnell's list No. 11428.

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Sri Tyagaraja, also called Vitankar, worshipped within a portion of the *Stapana-Mandapa*, is the patron deity of the Cholas. The legend goes that their mythical progenitor Chola Muchukuntan helped Indra against the *asuras*, for which help, he was presented with seven images of Tyagaraja, which he installed in the seven holy places of Tiruvarur, Tirunagaikkaronam, Tirukkareyil, Tirukkolili, Tirumaraikkadu, Tirunallaru and Tiruvamur which are known to this day as the *Sapta-Vitanka-Kshetras*. Rajaraja was a devout worshipper at Tiruvarur ere he built this great temple, and, consecrated Sri Tyagaraja at Tanjore also, as a mark of his own piety and in commemoration of the exploits of his celebrated ancestor.[1]

All around the main shrine are scattered *mandapas* and smaller shrines. The great *vimana* is of the Dravida style of architecture.[2] It rises to a height of about 216 feet, a tower of fourteen storeys, finely decorated with pilasters, niches, and images of the gods of the Hindu pantheon. The basement of the structure which supports the tower is 96 feet square. The *sikhara*, or cupolic dome is octagonal in shape and crowns the

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(1) This is borne out also by the many similarities in worship found in both these temples the location of Sri Tyagaraja's shrine adjacent to the central deity, the name of Vitankar given to Tyagaraja, the *ajapanatana* or dance and the peculiar சந்ததாளம் and எக்காளம் (musical accompaniments.) as Tyagaraja, sets out in the *vasanta* festivities of eighteen days, and *puja* at Tyagaraja's shrine in priority to the central deity. These observances appear to have been instituted at this temple as originally in Tiruvarur and are followed to this day though they suffered a temporary interruption during the Nayak periods and were restored by the Mahrattas.

(2) Burnell says in his pamphlet "The Great Temple of Tanjore": This style arose under the Chola or Tanjore Kings in the 11th Century, A.D. when nearly all the great temples to Siva in South India were built and it continued in use in the 12th and 13th Centuries during which the great temples to Vishnu were erected. Up to the beginning of the 16th Century these temples remained almost unchanged but at that time all South India became subject to the Kings of Vijayanagar, and one of these named Krishna Raya (1509-30), rebuilt or added to most of the great temples of the South. The chief feature of the architecture of this later period is the construction of the enormous *gopurams* which are so conspicuous at Conjeevaram, Chidambaram and Srirangam. All these were built by Krishnaraya; they do not form part of the original style, but were intended as fortifications to protect the shrines from foreign invaders, and certain plunder and desecration, as the Hindus first discovered on the Muhammadan invasion of 1310, A.D. Also *vide* "The Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture."—Bulletin of the Madras Museum.

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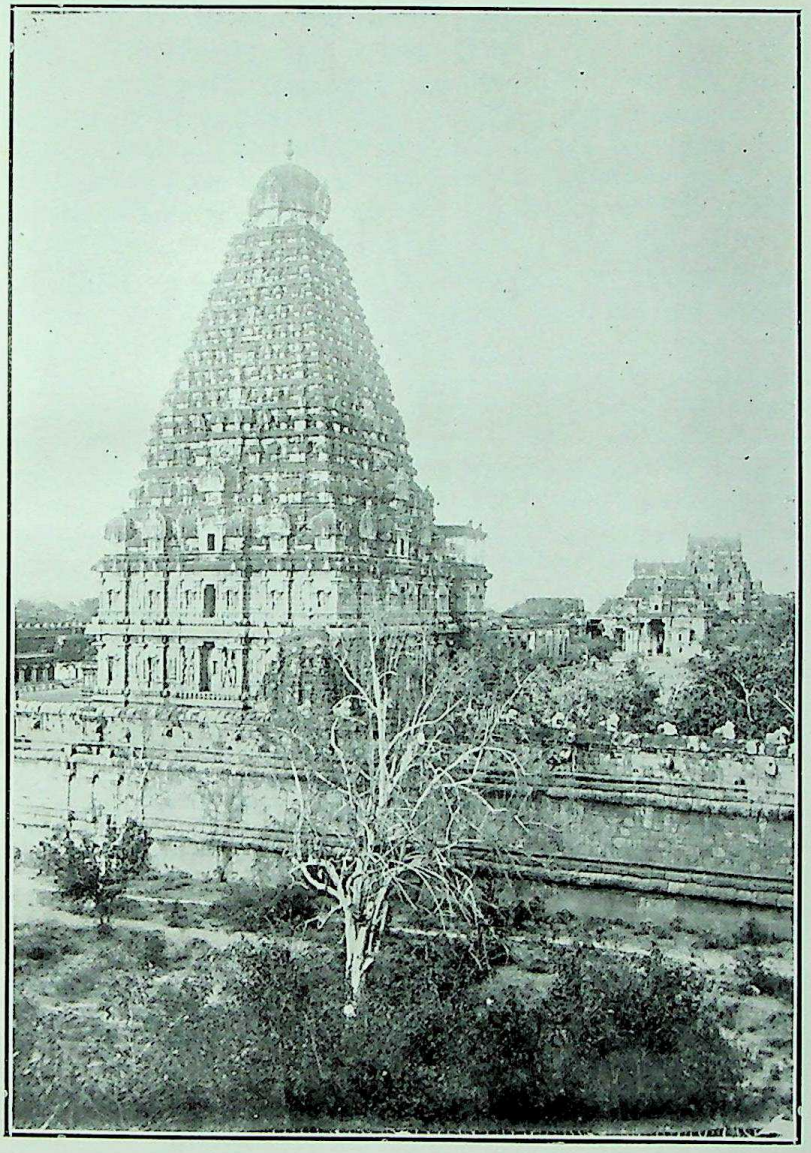

West view of the Central Shrine.

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vimana. The gilded *Kalasa* (finial) over it is 12½ feet high. It is believed the *sikhara* and the *stupi* throw no shadow on the ground The dome rests on a single block of granite 25½ feet square. Two Nandis, each measuring 6½ feet by 5½ feet beautify each corner of the stone which is estimated to weigh about 80 tons, and believed to have been conveyed to the top of the tower by means of an inclined plane commencing from Sarapallam (scaffold hollow) four miles north-east of the city.

The village takes its name from the above event, and around the stone several legends have collected. It is said, that this monolith was lying in the courtyard of a devotee, a cowherdess, 22 miles away, who longed to contribute it to the great temple then under construction, that God expressed His acceptance of the gift in a vision to the devotee and simultaneously to the King.[1] It was accordingly placed on top of the tower by the orders of the King, who, in admiration of the piety of the woman built a temple at her place and called it Darasuram.[2]

A story besides is told of how another cowherdess and devotee Alagiya Nayaki by name, a vendor of buttermilk to the artisans at work on the tower, supplied from her courtyard a keystone for this great slab to rest upon,

(1) Vide *Brihadisvara-Mahatmya*—Chapters XV—XVII.

This *Mahatmya* story is given further support by Mahavidwan Meenakshisundaram Pillai :—

" அம்மையார் நிழலில்யா மமர்வோமென் றருள்செய்த,
செம்மையார் வீற்றிருக்குந் திருத்தஞ்சை
மயூரப்புராணம் "—திருஞாட்டுப்—54

also by the author of தஞ்சைப் பெருவுடையாருலா :—

" பொன்னி
நதியுடைக்கோன் முன்னோர் நரைமுதியா னீழல்
வதிகின்றே மென்ன வந்தான் வந்தான் "—70.

(2) Darasuram is believed by some as a corrupted form of the original name Rajarajeswaram.

The *Sri Airavatesvara* temple at Darasuram, a furlong from the Railway Station of the name, is about two miles south-west of Kumbakonam. The puranic tradition of the temple is different, though the inscriptions speak of the deity as Sri Rajarajesvaramudayar ; and Cholas, Rajadhiraja (A.D. 1018-35) and Kulottunga I (A.D. 1070-1118) had much to do with its construction or probably renovation. This temple has some of the best stone carvings in South India, and is worthy of a visit. *Vide* Annual Reports for Epigraphy, 1908 and 1920 for details.

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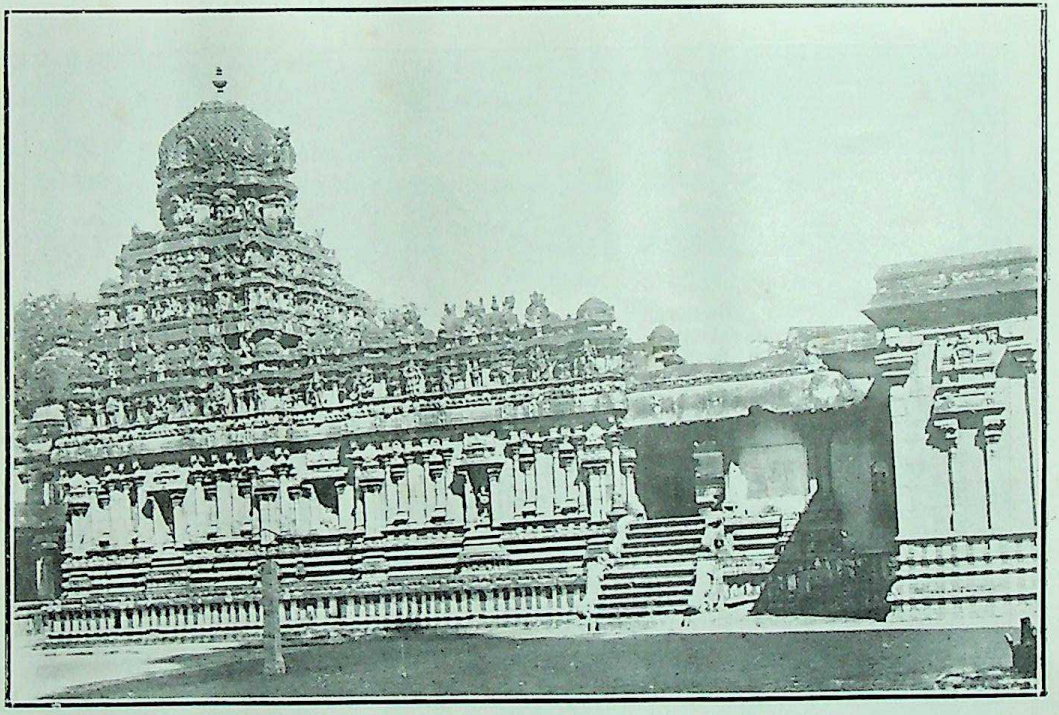
in appreciation whereof the Chola gifted certain lands in and around the Tanjore City, the last vestiges of which found mention till lately in the Government *paimash* accounts, as *Alagi-kulam* and *Tottam*, the locality occupied now by the Panagal Buildings of the Tanjore District Board and the Sri Besant Lodge of the Theosophical Society. A counterpart of this great slab of black granite though of a smaller size 18 feet by 16½ feet by 2 feet 1½ inches, is to be seen under the marble statue of Sarafoji II by Chantrey in the Nayak Durbar Hall of the Tanjore Palace.

Of the smaller structures inside the temple court, the shrine of Sri Subrahmanya in the north-west corner, those of the goddess Sri Brihannayaki, and Sri Chandesvara, and the colossal monolith figure of Nandi, the sacred Bull, opposite the doorway of the main building are worthy of mention.

The shrine of Sri Subrahmanya consists of a tower 55 feet high, raised on a base 45 feet square, covered with delicately carved figures, pillars and pilasters and carried on along a corridor 50 feet long, communicating with another *mandapa* 50 feet square to the east. Flights of steps lead up to either side of the shrine, but the principal entrance is to the east. This last gives access to the second pillared *mandapa*, the walls of which, are decorated with the portraits of the late Mahratta rulers of the country. This shrine has been pronounced to be "as exquisite a piece of decorative architecture as is to be found in the South of India," and "a perfect gem of carved stone work, the tooling of the stone in the most exquisitely delicate and elaborate patterns, remaining as clear and sharp as the day it left the sculptor's hands." This shrine is not referred to in the inscriptions, and cannot be contemporaneous with the main temple. Its correct place in the evolution of Dravidian temple architecture, would be "modern", giving it a date not earlier than A.D. 1600[1]. It is popularly believed that this is of the Nayak period, and a reverential contribution of

(1) See J. Dubreuil, *Archaeologie Sud de I, Inde*, Vol. I. Architecture. Rajaraja had set up only one image of Subrahmanya, S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 49



The Sri Subrahmanya Shrine.

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.*]

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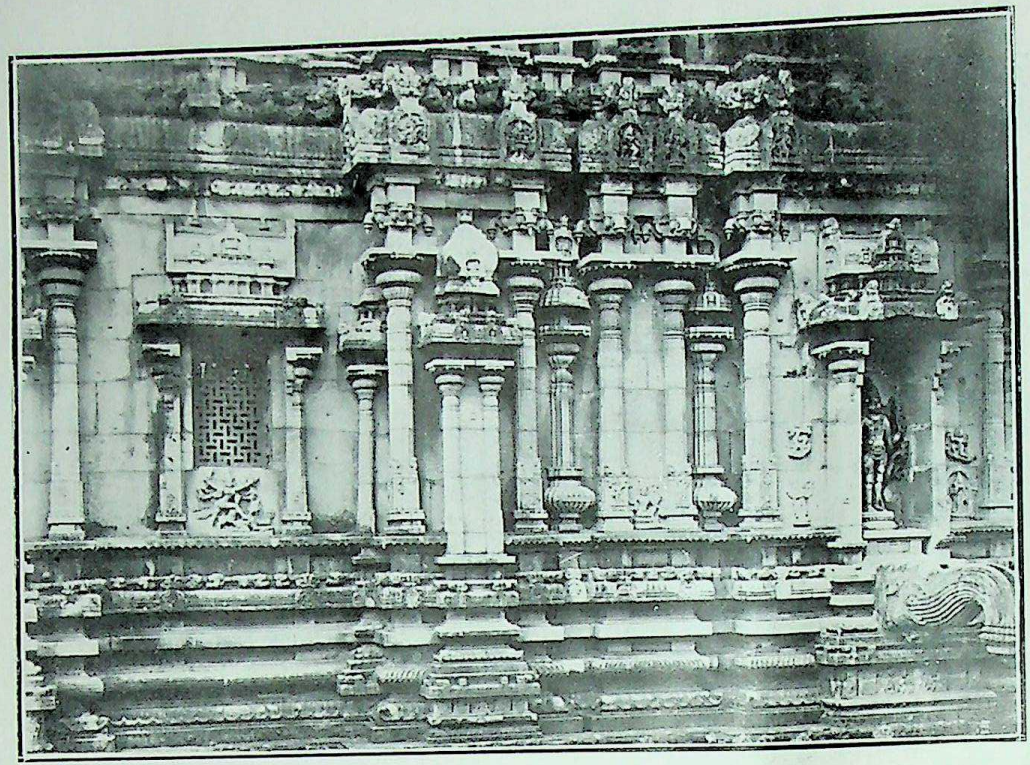

A view of the Sculptured North Wall of Sri Subrahmanya Shrine.

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.*]

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the Chief Sculptor who while absorbed in work, having unwittingly accepted betel (*pan-supari*), at the hands of his sovereign, who had gone there unobserved to watch the progress of work, wanted to expiate that sin by constructing this masterpiece of art. Arunagiriar has three invocatory verses in praise of this Sri Subrahmanya in his *Tiruppugal*. (*Vide* Appendix G—for text).

The shrine of the Goddess Sri Brihannayaki is clearly a later addition, constructed in the second year of a Konerinmaikondan—probably a later Pandya of the thirteenth century. It is said the original shrine of the goddess, was located in the adjoining Sivaganga gardens in the north-western corner of the fort, and it was later removed to the main courtyard of the temple by one of the Nayaks. In front of this shrine facing the main temple, stands a tall flag-staff (*dhwaja-stambha*), the covering of which is cast in copper. The lower portion is encased in a square piece, and each of the four sides depict characteristic Saiva figures.

The shrine of Ganapati in the south-western corner of the court is of the time of Sarafoji II[1]; that of Nataraja (Adavallan) in the north-eastern corner within a plain looking *mandapa*, is also of a subsequent date.

The shrine of Chandesvara, on the northern central compound is the only one put up contemporaneously with the main temple of Rajaraja [2].

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(1) *Vide* Epi. Rep. 1924 No. 420. "Seven images of Ganapatis are said to have been set up by Rajaraja, two in the dancing posture, three seated comfortably and the remaining two standing. In dedicating gifts to Ganapati two separate forms are mentioned, *viz.*, Alaiyattu Pillayar and Parivara-alaiyattu Pillayar. The former was probably in the central shrine, and the latter in the enclosure hall"—*S. I. I.*, II, Intro.

(2) *Chandesvara*—One of the sixty-three Saiva saints is considered to have been made the chief of Saiva devotees by God Siva. He is assigned a shrine and an honoured place in every Siva temple. "In epigraphical records, all transactions connected with Siva temples are represented as having been made in the name of Chandesvara. In the case of endowments made to Siva temples, the documents were used to be drawn up in the name of Chandesvara. If any land belonging to the temple had to be sold Chandesvara is stated to have accepted the price of land paid by the purchaser. In fact he was looked upon as the manager of the temple. This office Chandesvara may be considered to be holding even to this day. Any worshipper visiting a Siva temple has to appear at the Chandesvara shrine before leaving the temple premises, and clap his hands, evidently to satisfy the God that he is not taking away any temple property with him." *S. I. I.*, II, Intro.

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The enclosing wall and the cloister adjuncts (Tiruchchurrumaligai, திருச்சுற்றுமாளிகை) to the main temple appear to have been built under the supervision of a Brahmin military official, Dandanayaka Krsnan Raman Mummudi Chola Brahmarayan.[1] The Sri Dakshinamurti *sanctum*, with the image as originally enshrined in one of the niches of the *vimana*, abutting the south wall of the main temple, and approached by a steep flight of twenty-one stone steps, is a distinctly later addition. The Marathi inscriptions in the temple dated Saka 1723 (=A. D. 1801-2) state that Sarfoji Maharaja purified and reconsecrated the temple in[2] A.D. 1801-2, executed elaborate repairs to the shrines of Ganesa, Subrahmanya, Goddess Brihannayaki, Sabhapati, Dakshinamurti and Chandesvara, built one or two new *mandapas*, and renovated the *prakara* walls, the temple kitchen and the flooring of the courtyard.

The great *Nandi* (See Plate) within an elaborately worked Nayak *mandapa* is massive and striking, but not particularly well carved. Its height is over 12 feet, its length 19½ feet and its breadth 8¼ feet. This is said to be the second biggest, the first being the one at Lepakshi, in Hindupur Taluk, Anantapur District. The Tanjore Nandi is a monolith weighing about 25 tons, and the stone is said to have come from a bed of gneiss at the foot of the Pachchaimalai, near Perambalur in Trichinopoly District. Another version is that the stone was brought over from the bed of the Narmada in the north. There is a tradition that the Nandi is imperceptibly growing in size with the progress of time. It was feared it might become too large for the *mandapa* erected over it and a nail was driven into the back of it, and since, its size has remained stationary. Another tradition says that it grew to its present size due to the presence of a live toad within the massive gneiss, but

(1) *S. I. I.* Vol. II (*ii*), Nos. 31, 33 & 45.

(2) *Vide* Fergusson, I, p. 366; also Annual Report for Epigraphy, Nos. 415-424 of 1923-24. For the contents of the long inscriptions, a printed text of which is published by Rao Sahib T. Sambamoorthi Rao, 1907, *Vide* Appendix D.—A note on Sarfogi II, and his inscriptions.

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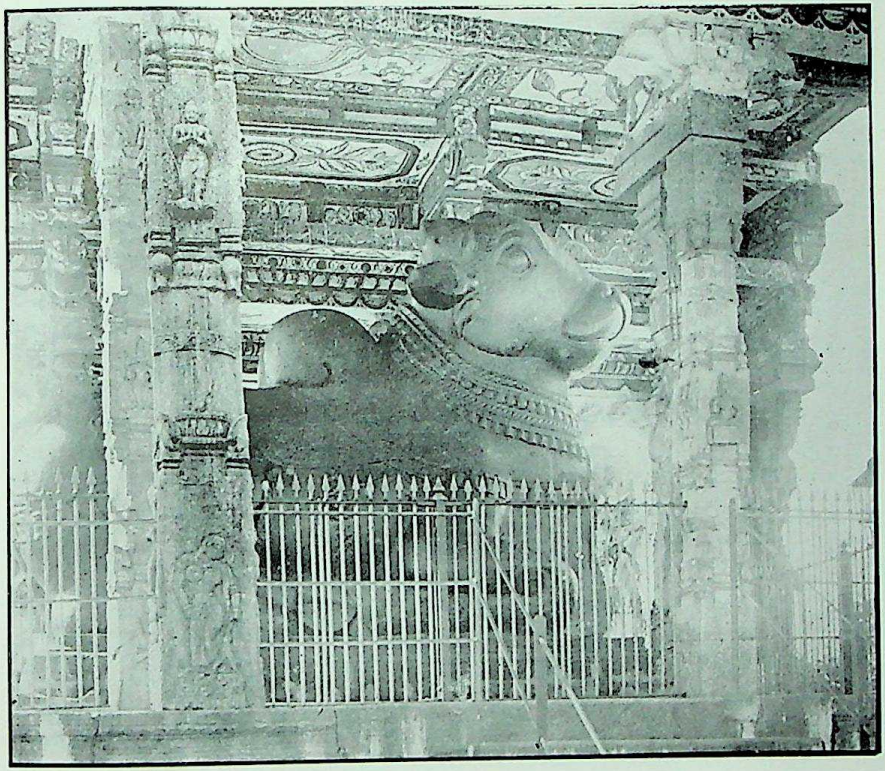

The great Bull (Nandi) of Tanjore.
[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian*]

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St. Karuvurar.

[*By Courtesy of Mr. T. S. Dandapani Aiyer.*]

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that the creature was discovered and removed to a sacred pond near by, named after this event மண்டெக தீர்த்தம்[1], a spot now covered over, and rebuilt in the form of a well on the northern *prakara* near the Sabhapati-*mandapa*. Two portrait statuesques on the front pillars of the Nandi *mandapa* are pointed out as those of Sevvappa (the first Nayak ruler) and of his son Achyutappa Nayak.

Behind the main temple, and under the shade of a Neem and a *Mandarai* is a modern-looking shrine, dedicated to a great *Siddha*, Karuvur Devar, popularly known as Karuvurar. The *Karur Sthala Purana* narrates how the saint helped Rajaraja Chola in the installation of the great Brihadisvara Sivalinga in the *sanctum sanctorum* at the time of the consecration of the temple. A place appears to have been assigned to him for this reason, in the temple court. The Saint's *Tiru-Isaippa* lyrics, sung in praise of this temple and its presiding Lord is a classic on the subject, and, gives valuable information regarding the temple and its times. Karuvurar is held in high veneration, and is believed to work miracles to his devotees. Thursdays are held sacred for his worship, and, his shrine attracts large crowds of devotees. The present building is said to have been raised on the original platform by devotees about thirty years ago.

The temple though completed as planned by Rajaraja I in his own time (A. D. 1003-10), has undergone various changes, renovations and repairs in the course of the many centuries that have elapsed, at the hands of successive Hindu rulers, whose sole object seems to have been to enrich and beautify the great temple, and to gather merit for themselves. It will be seen that the temple as the centre of the city at that time, had around it, the usual *saptavithis* or *prakaras* within and without the fort. The outer *prakaras* had gone into disuse and were discarded with the declining fortunes of the city, a necessity having arisen some time later, to take the temple processions around the city itself, instead of as in every other place around the temple.

(1) Ann. Ep. Rep. 1924. No. 419.

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There is a peculiarity about the sculptures in the temple. Many of the *motifs* on the *gopuras* are drawn from Vaishnavite legends, while a large number in the court yard are drawn from Saivite legends. There are also some scenes from the Buddha's life, (see plate) such as the Buddha's enlightenment, depicted on the outer eastern side of the parapet enclosing the broad flights of steps to the south of the temple. It is evident from the famous Leyden Grant,[1] that Rajaraja, a devout Saivite, (his banner crest being that of Nandi, the attendant-in-chief of Siva) bestowed the village of Anaimangalam and other endowments on the Buddhist Cudamani vihara in Negapatam, built by the Sailendra king, Sri Mara Vijayottunga-Varman. Rajaraja had also set up an image of God Vishnu called 'Mahavishnukkal' and presented three images of Vasudava [2] to the temple. A

(1) " The heroic Rajaraja, the lamp of the Chola family, whose footstool was touched by the glittering crests of all earth-lords, bore the heavy burden of the world with his arms outshining the beauty of the body of Sesha, the serpant king. Having conquered by the valour of his own arm the kings of Pandya, Dulu, Kerala, the Ceylon king, and Satyasraya, and having taken their elephants, steeds, jewels and kingdoms, he illumined by his fame even the ten directions, and having conquered of the countries, that Rajaraja making all the kings o the land tributary, that Indra of kings, dwelt happily in his own city, even as the world adored Indra in the third heaven. From the mountain celebrated for the up-rising of the dewless-rayed (the sun) from the southern ocean, to the Astachala mountain and to the lordly hill dwelt on by Sambhu, the kings, bent on the preservation of their own families, and in order to enjoy many enjoyments, had recourse to his pair of lotus feet (as the source of) temporary and eternal happiness; and because that noble king became in many ways the refuge (*asraya*) of kings devoted to his feet therefore the good on earth celebrate him of measurable powers as (*Rajasraya*). He, who has seen both shores of all arts and sciences, whose footstool is made yellow by the stream of rays from the numerous gems set in the beautiful golden diadems of the whole circle of kings, Rajaraja Rajakesarivarman, the crest jewel of Kshatriyas in the twenty-first year of his own universal rule, in the great country named Valanadu, thickly inhabited and shining as an ornament to the whole world in the division of Pattanakkurru, in the town resplendent with many temples, choultries, water-places, and groves, and shining with manifold rows of mansions—Nagipattana : by Sri Maravijayottunga-varman, son of Chudamanivarman, possessed of the entire science of royal polity, who, by virtue of his own wisdom was a guru to the Gods, who was the ray-garlanded (sun) to the lotus groves of the wise, and a *Kalpavriksha* to the needy, sprung from the Sailendra family and the lord of the Srivishaya country, who possessed of the Makaradhvaja, assumed the lordship over Kataha, (by Maravijayottunga), he (the king) gave to the Buddha dwelling in the exceedingly beautiful Chudamanivarman-vihara, so named after his own father, whose greatness and loftiness surpasses Kanakagiri (*Meru*)—the village Anaimangalam, in that same populous district nam d Pattanakkurru, whose four boundaries were clearly traced by the circuit of a female elephant" —*Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp. 216—218.

(2) *Vide S. I. I.*, Vol II, Nos. 52, 59 and 91.

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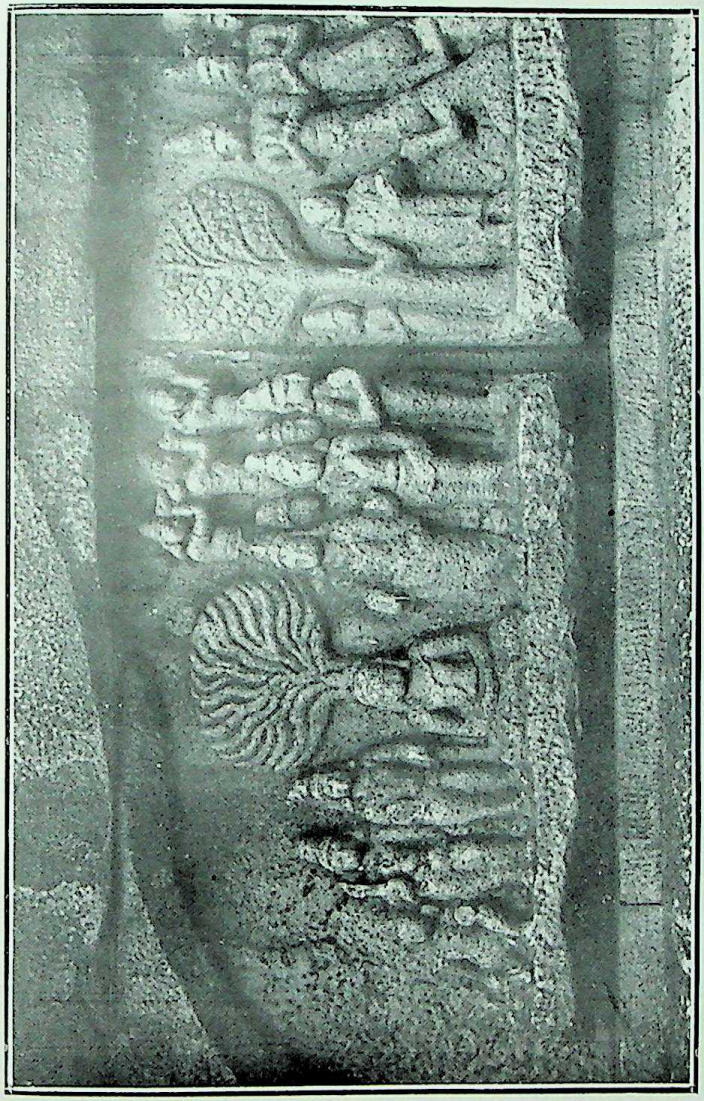

A Buddhistic Panel at the Great Temple.

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.*]

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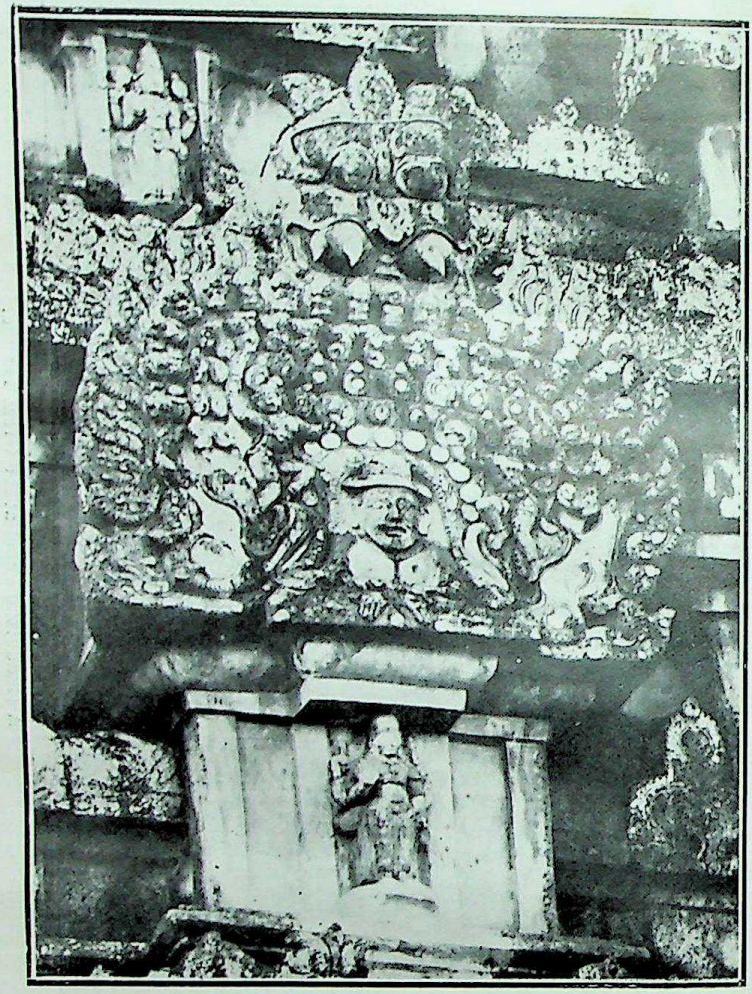

Portrait of an European's head on the Vimana of the great Temple

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian*]

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close study of the sculptures has yet to be made. In the meanwhile, the probable inference could only be, that the great Chola was no bigot, and, that this is an instance of the extreme tolerance that prevailed in the age, in which it was erected, before the different sects became antagonistic.

Another peculiarity is that, on the northern side of the main *vimana*, four human figures are descried, rising one above another in a line. The lowest is much larger than the others which gradually decrease in size, finally terminating in a man's head crowned by a bowler hat (see plate). Tradition has it that the mason in charge of the construction—Soma Varma by name—an inspired one from Conjeevaram—carved the figures of a Chola, a Nayak, a Mahratta and an European, to show the prospective line of rulers of the *Choladesa* in succession It is probable that the European figure, and certain of the Vishnavite figures were erected by the later Nayaks (builders of most of the Vaishnavite temples in the district) and that "they were assisted by a Dane or Danes shortly before or shortly after the acquisition of Tranquebar by that nation in A.D. 1620." Hemingway thinks that the European figure may be that of Roeland Crape, the pioneer of Dutch enterprise in the country, as it seems not unlikely that he assisted the Nayaks in their buildings.

Yet another version[1] is that the European figure represents Marco Polo, the great Venetian traveller to the East. He had travelled widely in China and was also for some time Governor of Canton. His influence was so great that the Chinese thought it fit to introduce his figure among the statuary of the Buddhas on the tower of the "Temple of the Five Hundred Buddhas" in the city of Canton. About the time of the repairs or improvements to this great temple by a later ruler, Marco Polo might have passed through South India on his way back home (A.D 1288-93). The traveller's fame and

(1) Mr. R Foulkes, M.L.C., of Madura who had been to Canton vouches for the remarkable resemblance between the figure there and the one at Tanjore.

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the jubilation that attended his journey should have impressed the then reigning monarch so much that he perpetuated the great traveller's figure on the *vimana*.

The Chola fresco-paintings discovered recently by Mr. S. K. Govindaswami of the Annamalai University [1] within the circumambulatory corridor of the *Ardha-mandapa* are of great interest. This discovery is an event of considerable importance to the history of South Indian Painting. They are the first Chola specimens yet discovered. Since the discovery of the Pallava paintings in the Sri Kailasanathaswami temple in Conjeevaram by Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil, the Pallavas held exclusively the palm for mural paintings in the Tamil country, and the Cholas may now be believed to divide the honours equally with Pallavas, not only in South Indian architecture and sculpture but in South Indian painting.

The passage of the corridor is dark, and the enthusiast finds the walls on either side covered with two layers of paintings from floor to ceiling. Those of the upper layer are of the Nayak period, as certain labels in Telugu characters mention the names of Sevvappa and Achyutappa and others. The Chola frescoes lie underneath. It may be, that in the hands of successive rulers, a Nayak thought it necessary to repaint the walls and the painter covered the older paintings by a thin coat of plaster and executed his own work thereon.

This layer is now crumbling down in places, revealing the old wonderful frescoes underneath. The west and north walls alone have so far yielded interesting pictures. They are each divided into two equal parts by niches that on the north wall containing a monolith figure of Siva as Sadyojatamurti dancing, and that on the west wall containing a monolith figure of Gangadevi.

An ardent spirit of Saivism is expressed in the Chola frescoes. They probably synchronise with the

(1) *Vide* 'The Hindu' April 11, 1931, also S. K. Govindaswami, "The frescoes of the Brihadisvara Temple at Tanjore—*Journal of the Annamalai University*, April 1933, pp. 1-10

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Large Monolith Sadyojatamurti in the inner prakara.

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completion of the temple by Rajaraja. Saivism was at its height at the time, and the Cholas were pre-eminently of that faith. A few of these pictures are catalogued below [1].

1. "Siva in his abode of Kailasa. Siva is sitting in an easy pose on a tiger skin with a band passing round his waist and the right knee. The front right arm is gracefully resting on the right knee while the other arms are not clearly visible. A fantastic crew of ugly dwarfs possibly the *Sivaganas* are painted behind him. A bull is lying couchant near Siva. At the opposite end of the picture a group of devotees mostly *rishis* can be found. Midway between Siva and the devotees a couple of *Apsarasas* are dancing. Siva is painted red, and there is a *rishi* who is of bluish complexion.

2. "Saints Sundara and Ceraman. This group is just below the former. The centre is occupied by a fast moving white elephant, a four tusker, and a youthful rider is seen mounted on it. He has a pair of small cymbals which are used to keep time while singing devotional hymns. Another man squarely built is majestically riding on a prancing white horse which is leading the elephant. Both the animals are wading through what looks like a river. Fishes and other aquatic creatures are shown as swimming in the river. At the right and the left top corners of the picture, groups of celestial beings are painted, half hidden by clouds. The right group consists of a pair of dancing *Apsarasas* and of Gandharvas showering lotus petals on the riders below, sounding big cymbals and playing on the *mridanga* and *kotti mattala*. The left group consists of three or four *rishis* dimly visible through a film of dirt.

(1) See 'Cola Painting' by S. K. Govindaswami, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, pp. 74-80, 1934, Calcutta. Also 'The Colas' by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastry, "I have examined the paintings round the *garbha-grha* of the Tanjore temple; it seems possible that a stalwart royal figure which recurs in many of those groups as the central figure is that of Rajaraja himself, and that the paintings are as old as the temple."

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3. "Saint Sundara and Siva. This picture is painted below the above one. A group of men young and old is assembled in a pillared hall. In their midst two men are standing facing each other. One of them is an old man bent double with age. He is holding a leaf umbrella with one hand and with the other he evidently shows what looks like a Kharjjura leaf. The other is a youth. He stands in an attitude of respect with hands folded. A whole *gamut* of feelings ranging from indignation to scepticism is portrayed in the faces of the assembled men. To the right of this picture is a temple into which a crowd of men is hurrying.

4. "A domestic scene. The bottommost panel respresents a few women engaged in cooking and other culinary operations. A man probably a labourer is receiving food from a woman of the household.

5. "Nataraja and his devotees. On the other part of the west wall is painted this picture on a grand scale. A large portion of it is still under the upper layer of plaster. At the top, a part of the tiled roof of a hall is visible, and it closely resembles the Kanakasaba or the Golden Pavilion of the Nataraja temple at Chidambaram. An outstretched left hand holding the fire on its palm and a side of the sinuous body are the only indications of a figure of Nataraja. To the right of this fragment, a stately personage is standing in the pose of adoration. Three women with folding hands are standing in a line with him. Two men, with silver rods in their hands are stationed outside the hall, and evidently they are attendants. Below this there is another group drawn on a smaller scale. It consists of four damsels in the worshipping attitude. Still lower down some men are painted in different poses of adoration.

6. "On the wall opposite to the above panel there are some fine drawings of the fair sex. They are in a sad state of preservation. Two exquisitely shaped women, with high cast fingers are seated in a graceful pose. Just below them three female heads with refined

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features are peeping through the opening in the upper layer of plaster. By the side of this picture, a bevy of about a score of women is painted in a curious perspective. The whole group is on a small scale, too small for mural painting, and the details are put in with a delicate brush. The first three figures are splendidly drawn.

7. "Siva as Tripurantaka. Turning to the north wall we meet with a grand picture. The design is generous and impressive. The subject also lends itself to such a treatment. It is a battle piece founded upon a *puranic* story, the destruction of the *Asuras* of Tripuri by Siva. The centre is occupied by the figure of Siva which dominates the whole design. This is a vigorous and powerful composition. Siva has a well modelled and massively built body with eight mighty arms wielding different weapons. He is kneeling on his left leg while the whole weight of the body is thrown forward on the right leg which is bent inwards and firmly planted on the seat of the chariot. An army of *Asuras* is painted as facing Siva. They are muscular men with fierce and fiery eyes fighting with a courage inspired by fear and despair. Here and there in the group are found weeping and terror-stricken women clinging to the necks of warriors.

8. "Four god like faces. Four life sized heads are painted on another part of the north wall. They have *kirita-mukutas* and complexions of white, red, yellow and green. It is not clear what gods these heads represent."

North-West of the temple and within the enclosure of the small fort is the Sivaganga tank—the *Kshetra-Tirtha*. There is a door way watched on either side by figures of Kubera, on the northern main wall of the temple. This leads into the Sivaganga Gardens, and the tank therein from which was brought the *tirtha* for the use of the temple. Set within this tank, is a tiny island shrine dedicated to Sri Lokanatha Iswara, also known as Sri Sivalingaswami. Appar (A.D. VII Century)

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refers to this deity as the தஞ்சைத் தளிக்குளத்தார் in his *Tevaram* hymns. It is possible that this shrine is much earlier than the great temple built by its side by Rajaraja with *Sivaganga* as the *tirtha*—தீர்த்தம். It is considered by some scholars that there was no shrine of ancient renown on the present site of this Great temple and that Tanjore had no place in the orthodox list of shrines sung by the early apostles of Saivism ![1] A popular legend says that Appar was refused admission into the temple [2] though the temple itself came to be founded only three centuries later ! Adjoining the tank on the east, and within the fort, is a public garden, the Schwartz Church on the western end, and a few modern public offices.[3]

To the north of the fort, is the *Sevappa Nayakan vari*—the tank of Sevvappa (A.D. 1544-72). This tank supplies water to the Sivaganga tank.

The temple is assuredly a stupendous monument of the religious instinct of its founder. The base and various other portions of the temple are covered with Grantha and Tamil inscriptions, almost all of which have been copied by Hultzsah and Venkayya and published in extenso by the Government Epigraphist in *South Indian Inscriptions* [4], volume II, parts 1-5, and others noticed in the Annual reports of the Department of Epigraphy. The enormous endowments in

(1) (1) " அஞ்சைக் களத்துள்ளார் ஐயாற் றுள்ளார்
தஞ்சைத் தளிக்குளத்தார் தக்களூரார் "—திருத்தாண்டகம், அப்பர்.

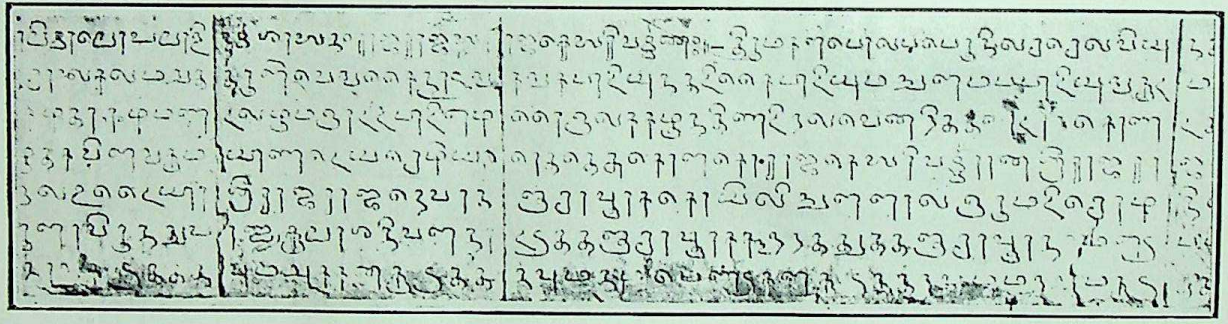
(2) " தஞ்சை வழுவூர் வீரட்டம் மாதானங்
.....கயிலாய நாதனேயே காணலாமே "—கேதீச்சரக்கோவை, அப்பர்.

(3) " குள மூன்றும் களமைந்தும் பாடி நான்கும் "—ஞானசம்பந்தர்.

(2) *Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 271.

(3) *Vide* Note on Schwartz Church and Christian Missions—Appendix E.

(4) There are 64 inscriptions of Rajaraja I, 29 of Rajendra Chola I, one of Rajendra Deva, one of Kulottunga I, one of Vikrama Chola, 3 of a probable Pandya king Konerinmaikondan, two of the Vijayanagara kings Tirumalai Deva and Devaraya I, one of the Tanjore Achyutappa Nayak and one of a certain Mallappa Nayak of about the same period. The language employed is Tamil here in Chola inscriptions, though their language and script vary with the time and place in others. They are in perfect condition.



A specimen Inscription of Rajaraja I on the plinth of the *Vimana*.

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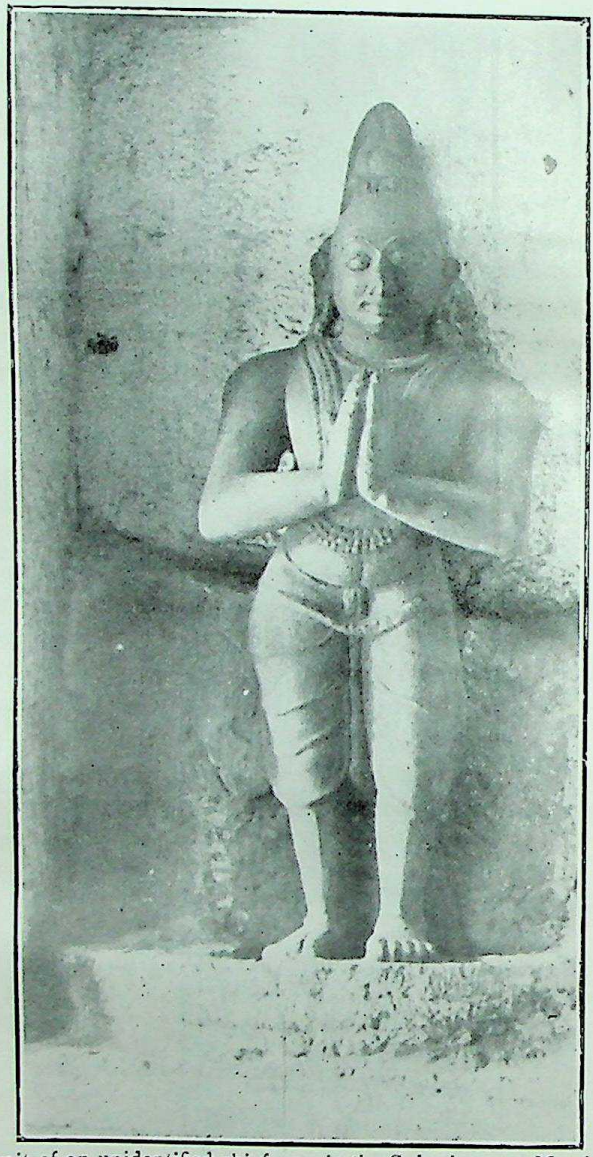

Portrait of an unidentified chief now in the Subrahmanya Mandapa.
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lands and gold made to the temple show that the great Chola's one sole object in the closing years of his life was "to leave no want of the temple unsupplied." "Almost all the booty he acquired in wars he gave away to the temple, utensils required for the temple service, ornaments for the various images in the temple, villages for supplying the temple with the requisite amount of paddy, money for purchasing the various articles for temple use not omitting even camphor, cardamom seeds, *champaka* buds and khus khus roots required for scenting the bathing water of the gods; sheep, cows and buffaloes for supplying the ghee required for lamps, skilled musicians for singing the *Tevaram* hymns, dancing girls, brahman servants for doing the menial work in the temple, accountants for writing the temple accounts, the temple treasurers, gold-smiths, carpenters, washermen, barbers, astrologers and watchmen were provided on a large scale."

"The richest gifts that were made to the temple were by the king himself, his elder sister Kundavai, and his queens. 'By the twenty-ninth year of his reign, Rajaraja had perfected his arrangements for the endowments in perpetuity of the vast sums needed for the lavish routine of daily requirements in the great temple. He had presented among other valuables, gold articles weighing 41,559 *kalanju* [1] or roughly 480 lbs. troy, and jewels worth nearly 10,200 *kasu* equal to half as many *kalanju* in gold. He had also given silverware of the total weight of 50,650 *kalanju*, nearly 600 lbs. troy. He had set apart lands in several villages throughout his extensive dominions, including Ceylon, [2] yielding an annual income of 1,16,000 *kalams* of paddy, valued at the then prevailing prices at 58,000 *kasu*, besides a cash income of 1,100 *kasu*.

"He had formed two long streets, the northern and the southern *Talicceris* தளிச்சேரி (streets of the temple) running east to west, and inhabited by four hundred

(1) A pon (*Kalanju*) was about 68 grains in Rajaraja's time—*Vide* Codrington—*Ceylon Coins and Currency*. A *pon* was equal to two *Kasus*.

(2) *Ep. Rep.* 1913, II, Ins. 92—Ceylon called *Mummudi-Sola-Mandalam*.

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dancing women impressed from the other *Talicceris* in the Cola country and provided each with one house and one *veli* of land yeilding an annual return of 100 *kalams* of paddy called a *pangu* (share). About 180 such *pangus* had been set apart for the maintenance of no fewer than 212 male servants for the temple comprising dancing masters, musicians, drummers, barbers, goldsmiths, tailors, accountants, and so on. Among these were three persons to sing the *Ariyam* (Sanscrit) and four others to sing the Tamil, terms which seem to imply that already the sacred hymns of the Tamil saints had received recognition as *Dravida Vedam* and claimed equal rank with the Vedas. The king's elder sister, Parantakan Kundavai Alvar, as she is called in the inscriptions gave gold of the weight of nearly 10,000 *kalanju*, and jewels and utensils of the value of about 18,000 *kasu*. Others—queens and high officials in the royal service—made other gifts recorded with equal care and precision on the stone walls and pillars of the temple. When we recall the nature and extent of the efforts and sacrifices that must have gone to the construction of this magnificent temple, the number of servants and attendants dependent on it after it came up, the method by which these were recruited from the different parts of the Cola kingdom and the precise rules laid down for the regular maintenance of their supply, and the manner in which numerous villages all over the empire were linked up with the daily routine of the temple by having to send supplies to it on account of lands held or as interest on sums borrowed from the temple at various times; when we consider, further, how all the learning and the arts that flourished in the country were impressed into the service of the temple, we cannot fail to observe how the Great temple came to hold, from its very inception a prominent place in the polity of the land. The temple was meant to dominate Tanjore as Tanjore dominated the rest of South India at the time: it was, indeed, the masterpiece of Rajaraja's rule." [1]

(1) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—The Economy of a South Indian Temple in the Cola peried—Malaviya Commemoration Volume 1932, pp. 305 *ff*.

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That Rajaraja was himself conscious of the grandeur of his undertaking is seen from the very first record to be engraved on the upper tier of the Northern and Western walls of the *Vimana*.[1] The royal Command[2] is issued on the twentieth day of the twenty-sixth year of his reign from his palace at Tanjore calling upon his officials "to engrave on the sacred central walls of the Sri Vimana of the stone temple to Rajarajeswara raised by us in Tanjavur, gifts by ourselves, by our elder sister, by our queens and by others."

This grand achievement of Rajaraja must have created an admiration for him in the minds of his subjects, and the several incidents connected with its foundation and equipment,—his martial exploits and military achievements not excluded,—appear by themselves to have become the theme of a popular story. For in the fourth year of Rajaraja's son and successor, Rajendra Chola (A.D. 1023-55) a provision is found in Ins. No. 67,[3] on the outside of the north enclosure for a daily allowance of paddy to be given from the treasury of the temple to Santik-kuttam Tiruvalan Tirumudukunran *alias* Vijayarajendra Acaryan and his troupe (*vargattar*) of actors who had to enact a drama called the *Rajarajesvara Nataka* in the temple on the occasion of the Vaikasi festival; and, for another for the reading of "*Rajaraja Vijayam*."[4] These works have been lost, and instead, a *Sarabhendra-Bhupala Kuravanchi-Nataka* is enacted in the temple on the eighth day of the Chitra festival, ever since the days of Chhatrapati Sarafoji II (A.D. 1798-1832). The hero of the piece is the Rajah Sarafoji himself, and the author, Kottaiyur Sivakolundu Desikar, a court-poet of eminence[5]

(1) *S. I. I.*, II, Intro. p. 14.
(2) *Vide* Appendix. 'A Note on Rajaraja the Great' for a text of the inscription.
(3) *S. I. I.*, II.
(4) *An Ep. Rep.* 1931, p. 44, Ins. 120.
(5) An excellent edition of the author's works, கொட்டையூர் சிவக் கொழுந்து தேசிகர் பிரபந்தங்கள் edited by Mahamahopadyaya Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar, 1932, is published by Srilasri Kasivasi Swaminatha Swamigal of Tiruppanandal Mutt.

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" The *Kuravanchi* is a variety of theme dance. The story consists of the romantic love of a lovely woman for Sarafoji. The imagination of the poet weaves a highly laudatory story, of the glory and greatness of the reigning Mahratta ruler. A peculiar feature of the work is songs set to music, besides prose dialogues and verses. It is only these songs set to music and *abinaya*, which are enacted in the staging of the *nataka*.

" A description of how they do it may be interesting. Two sets of artistes take part in the production of *Kuravanchi*. They are musicians, both vocalists and players on instruments and courtezan dancers. No less than four musicians sing the songs of *Kuravanchi*. The music consists of Tamil *padas* and *padyams* composed to suit the moods of dances and set to appropriate melodies. The music is rendered in the immaculate carnatic style which has its own points of beauty. The orchestra consists of a drone-pipe, clarionet, *mridangam* and cymbals. It is interesting to note that the clarionet has taken the place of the old time *muhavina*.

" The performance opens with the appearance of the *Kattiankara* or the herald, who recites in a stentorian voice the prowess and achievements of Sarafoji. He announces that the *Kuravanchi kuttu* will be staged and exhorts the people to pray to God that it might be accomplished without any hitch or hindrance. As in the old " *terukuttu* " a girl impersonating Vighnesvara enters next, and performs a simple dance of backward and forward movements. *Kattiankara* prays that the performance should be a complete success, after which they retire. A string of four beautiful girls representing the maids of Mohini, the heroine, leap forward from behind the *dhoti* screen and dance an intricate pattern dance which is arrestingly beautiful. The heroine (*talaivi*) —Mohini presents herself next and by means of an exquisite code of *mudras*, communicates to them the secret of her love for Sarafoji. The danseuse who plays this

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role must possess a lithe and supple frame, mobile face, playful eyes, and sensitive lips to be able to express in turn consuming passion, bright hope, and black despair. The maids sympathise with their mistress, but are not quick in devising ways and means of bringing the lovers together. Mohini despairs, and, is on the brink of collapse when the voice of an approaching *kuratti* buoys her up. The *kuratti* is a daughter of the hills, a peripatetic woman, who weaves bamboo baskets, and unravels the destinies of people with equal ease and uncanniness. Unlike the other dancers in the *kuttu*, she sings as she dances. With a look into the palm of Mohini, she reads her intimate thoughts and predicts the fruition of her love for Sarafoji, with which the *Kuravanchi* closes. It is not an exaggeration to say that neither mere concert nor solo dance would give an idea of the grandeur and effect of a performance of this character."[1]

The setting up of the images of certain canonised Saiva Saints in the temple is of especial interest. One of them was by Rajaraja himself, and, the others were the fruits of the religious devotion of the then manager of the temple. The former (Ins. No. 29)[2] consisted of (1) Chandesvaraprasadadeva with four arms, (2) Musalagan with two arms, (3) Umaparamesvari, (4) Mahadeva, *i.e.*, a *linga* from which an arm was projecting, (5) Chandesvara with two arms, (6) his father with two arms represented as having fallen down and lying on the ground, (7) Chandesvara having two arms represented as receiving boon, and (8) a flower garland given to him as a boon. The above icons are from Chandesvara's life which is immortalised in the *Periya-purana*.[3] The others were set up towards the close of Rajaraja's reign, and during the early years of Rajendra Chola, by Adittan Suryan *alias* Tennavan Muvenda-Velan, a headman of

(1) *Vide* 'The Hindu Illustrated Weekly.' dated 3-6-1934.

(2) *S. I. I.*, II, i.

(3) The *Periya-Puranam*, or Great Legend, a *liber sanctorum* by Sekkilar, forms the twelfth book of *Tirumurai*, and may be dated in the first half of the twelfth century. It is a poem in seventy two cantos on the lives of the sixty-three Saiva saints, and is founded on a decad of St. Sundarar's and the *Tondar-tiruv-antadi*, which is one of Nambi-andar-Nambi's poems. No work is more loved by Saivas than the *Periya-Puranam*.

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Poigainadu and manager of the temple. Before the close of the 29th year of Rajaraja (A.D. 1013-14), he installed the images of Nambi Aruranar, Tirujnanasambandhadigal, Periya-Perumal, his consort Olagamadeviyar, *i. e.*, Loka-Mahadevi, and Chandrasekharadeva worshipped by Periya-Perumal. During the next year (A.D. 1014-15), he made gifts to the images of Nambi Aruranar, Tirujnana-sambandhadigal, Tirunavukkarayar and Periya-Perumal, his consort Olagamadeviyar, *i.e.*, Loka-Mahadevi, and Chandrasekharadeva worshipped by Periya-Perumal. He also set up images of the king of Miladu, *i.e.*, the Saiva devotee Meypporul Nayanar, and of (1) Kshetrapaladevar with eight arms, (2) Bhairava with two arms, (3) Siruttonda-Nambi with two arms, (4) Tiruvenkattu-Nangai and (5) Siraladevar.

Dr. Hultzch thinks that by Periya-Perumal, Rajaraja himself is meant and the Olagamahadevi was his queen Lokamahadevi. This seems to be very likely, and both of them were probably dead at the time the images were actually set up.

The fact that the images of the Saiva Nayanmars had been installed during the early years of the eleventh century A. D. (Ins. 41 of 1891), and the order (Ins. No. 65 on the outside of the north enclosure) of Rajaraja-deva himself, by which he assigned a daily allowance of paddy to each of forty-eight persons, whom he had appointed to recite the *Tiruppadiyam* in the temple, and, to two persons who had to accompany the others on drums are of significant interest. They form an unmistakable proof of the hold the saints had on the faith of the times, and of the fact that their hymns had gained the name of *Padigam* or *Padiyam*, collected in the *Tevaram* in the time of Rajaraja. The names of these fifty incumbents serve to corroborate this identification of the *Tiruppadiyam* with the *Tevaram*, as some of them are the names of the three authors of the *Tevaram*, *viz.*, Tirujnanasambandha or Sambandha (Ins. Nos. 10, 22, 34, 38, 42),[1] Tirunavukkaraiyar (Ins. Nos. 6, 12,

(1) *S. I. I*, Vol. II, i, ii.

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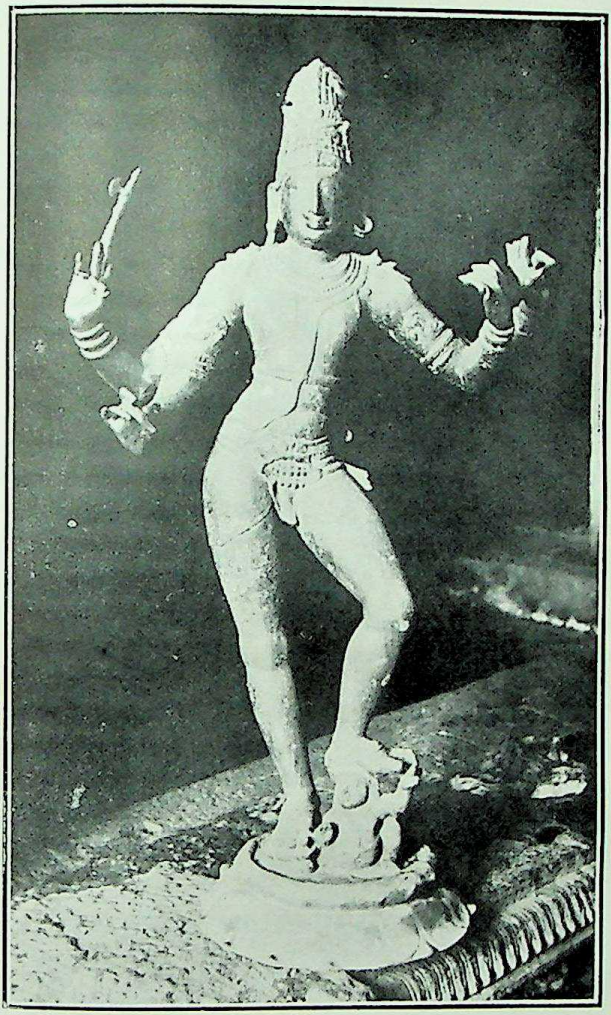

Metallic image of Tripurantaka.

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14, 19, 28, 43, 45) and Nambi-Aruran (Ins. Nos. 41, 44) or Aruran (Ins. Nos. 19, 22). The name of two other incumbents Siralan (Ins. Nos. 13, 15) is derived from Siraladevar, one of the sixty-three *Nayanmars*. A portion of the order under reference, and its corresponding translation is given below:—

Hail! Prosperity! Until the twenty-ninth year (of the reign) of Ko-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Sri-Rajarajadeva, who, in his life of growing strength, during which,—(in) the belief that, as well as the goddess of fortune, the goddess of the great earth had become his wife,—he was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kandalur-Salai, and conquered by his army, which was victorious in great battles, Vengainadu, Ganga-padi, Tadigai-padi, Nulamba-padi, Kudamalai-Nadu, Kollam, Kalingam, Ila-mandalam, (which was the country) of the Singalas who possessed rough strength, the seven and a half *lakshas* of Iratta-padi, and twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea,— deprived the Seliyas of (their) splendour at the very moment when (they were) resplendent (to such a degree) that (they were) worthy to be worshipped everywhere:—the lord Sri Rajarajadeva had given—for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* before the lord of the Sri-Rajarajesvara (temple),—forty-eight musicians (*Pidarar*), one person who should constantly beat the small drum in their company, and one person should constantly beat the big drum (*kotti-mattalam*) in their company. These fifty persons were to receive from the city treasury of the lord a daily allowance (*nibandha*), of three *kuruni* of paddy each, (measured) by the *marakkal* called (after) Adavallan, which is equal to a *rajakesari*. Instead of those among these persons, who would die or emigrate, the nearest relations of such persons were to receive that paddy and to recite the *Tiruppadiyam*. If the nearest relations of such persons were not qualified themselves, they were to select (other) qualified persons, to let (these) recite the *Tiruppadiyam*, and to receive that paddy. If there were no near relations to such persons, the (other) incumbents of such appointments were to select qualified persons for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam*, and the person

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selected was to receive the paddy in the same way, as that person (whom he represented), had received it. Accordingly, (the names of these fifty persons) were engraved on stone, as the lord Sri Rajarajadeva had pleased to order.[1]

I. *The Brihadisvara Mahatmya* or the *Cholavamsavalicharitram*[2] is the *Sthalapurana* of the temple. It is a book of thirty chapters, attributed to Vedavyasa, and is an extract of a greater work *Bhavishyottara Purana*. The *Mahatmya* is a collection of local legends centring round the construction of the Brihadisvara temple, the *linga anayanam*, *Kumbhabhisheka* and *Utsavas*, besides giving an account of Sri Konganesvara. The temple of Sri Konganesvara is an old shrine of importance in the West main street of the Tanjore city.

The *Brihadisvara Mahatmya* also gives an account of sixteen Cholas: Kulottunga, Deva, Sasisekhara, Sivalinga, Vira, Karikala, Bhima, Rajendra, Viramartanda, Kirti, Jaya, Kanaka, Sundara, Kalakala, Kalyana and Bhadra Chola. Burnell classifies this work as a "mythical history of the Cola Rajas of Tanjore and the temples they built."; Wilson says: "the work is more a legendary than of a historial character, and is intended to record the devotion of the various Cola princes to Siva as shown in the consecration of different lingas." And, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri says: "There is however, little reason to doubt that when this *purana* was written nothing was remembered of the true history of the Tanjore Cholas and some conventional list was made up to provide a frame work for the legends to fit into. Excepting the names of Kulottunga, Vira, Karikala, Rajendra and Sundara and that of Haradatta, all the other names are unknown to history and are barefaced invention." For a brief connected account of the temple in the *Mahatmya*—*vide* Appendix B.

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(1) *S. I. I.*, II, iii, p. 256.

(2) *Vide* Tanjore Palace Saraswathi Mahal Library Ms. No. B. 1849 in Devanagari Characters, also, another Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library Ms. and a close translation of the Tanjore Ms. in the Mackenzie collection said to have been undertaken at the instance of Maharaja Chatrapati Sarafoji II in about A. D. 1810 (by a certain Veda Naick of Tanjore). See the *Journal of Oriental Research*, IV, iv. p. 318—340—"Cola Legends."

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II. *Parasara-Kshetra-Mahatmya* is another forming part of a major *Skanda Purana.* This *Mahatmya* gives the history of one Siva Chola, the greatness of Sri Brihadisvara, and of the Manimuktanadi, the modern Vadavar.

III. *Tiruvisaippa*—திருவிசைப்பா, of Karuvur Devar, in Tamil as forming part of the ninth (திருமுறை) book of the holy canon of the scriptures of Saivism, is held in high esteem. It consists of ten decads each on one of the ten sacred places visited by the author. The ninth on "Tanjai Rajarajesvaram" (தஞ்சை ராசராசேச்சரம்) is a classic on the subject of this temple. Its eleven beautiful lyric verses are descriptive of the temple and the Lord Brihadisvara. *Vide* Appendix F for the text and explanatory meanings.

IV. *Tanjaima-nahar-Stalapurana* தஞ்சைமாநகர் ஸ்தல புராணம். 1893, by K. Vasudeva Naicker.

V. *Tanjai-Peruvudaiyar-Ula,* தஞ்சைப் பெருவுடையார் ருலா by Sivakkolundu Desikar, the author of கோடீச்சரக் கோவை and சரபேந்திர பூபால குறவஞ்சி நாடகம்,—a Court Poet of Sarafoji II. The *Ula* is a literary composition of a conventional type with Sri Brihadisvara as the hero of the piece. It gives a contemporary descriptive account of the temple usages and festivities as applied to the deity. An account of the last work, *Kuravanchi Nataka,* in its relation with this temple is given *sufra,* (pp. 24-25.)

VI. *Karuvur Purana.* The portion of the *Purana* dealing on கருவூர்த்தேவர் கதிபெறுசருக்கம் gives an account of Karuvurar's part in the installation and consecration of the chief *linga* of this temple.

The chief festival of the temple is the annual Chittirai *Brahmotsavam* of eighteen days in April—May. The participation of, or the *role* assigned to Saiva *Samayacharyas*—Appar, Sundarar, Jnanasambandhar and Manickavacagar—and to Rajaraja Chola in the festival is significant. Two days' festivities are allotted to

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the saints, and, on the 9th, 13th, 15th, 17th and 18th days Rajaraja's image as a *bhakta* is taken around the city with the temple paraphernalia and honours escorting the deities in procession [1]. According to a tradition, the Chola invites to the *Ashtakodi* festivities, 'the Vellan Chettimars of the sixty-four *manais*,' (அறுபத்து நான்கு மனை வெள்ளாஞ் செட்டிமார்) in the city, and their representative is honoured. The *ashtakodi* or hoisting of eight festive flags on the 9th day, signifies the real beginning of the festival. Sri Tyagaraja as representing Sri Brihadisvara is taken round the temple that night, and then the *kuravanchi-nataka* is enacted on the special masonry dais one meets with on one's left, on entering the main temple quadrangle. The other principal items of the festival are the *Rishabha vahanam* and *Chatur-mukha-chapparam* on the thirteenth, the dragging of the temple cars with Sri Tyagaraja on the fifteenth, and Rani Bai Sahiba's [2] *Uttara Rishabhavahanam* on the last day. The city participates in the festival in gala attire. As originally instituted by Rajaraja this festival was one of nine days, in *Vaikasi*, but was later spread over eighteen days, to be in line with the practice at Tiruvarur.

The inscriptions mention the monthly celebration of the founder's natal asterism சதயம் [3], and of கார்த்திகை in the month of Kartigai. But these have long ago been discontinued. The former celebration has since been

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(1) *Vide Brihadisvara Mahatmya*, Ch. XIV; also Rao Bahadur K. S. Srinivasa Pillai' s தமிழ் வரலாறு. Rajendra Chola I ordered the taking of his father Rajaraja Chola's image, escorting the deities, instead of St. Sundarar, which was the earlier custom in Tiruvarur. It is also said that the Tanjore car தேர் was as big as that in Tiruvarur, until replaced by a smaller one by Somanatha Panditar, a minister of Sivaji II.

(2) It is said, that this festive procession so named, was duplicated again on the last day, to please a Rani Bai Saheba, who had fallen asleep and missed the *Rishabha Vahanam* on its particular day; and, that it had continued to be celebrated ever since.

(3) Tirunandikkarai (திருநந்திக்கரை) temple inscription gives the earliest command of Rajaraja I to celebrate his natal asterism சதயம் in the month of ஐப்பசி. This is probably soon after his conquest of the Chera country, which was at the beginning of his reign.

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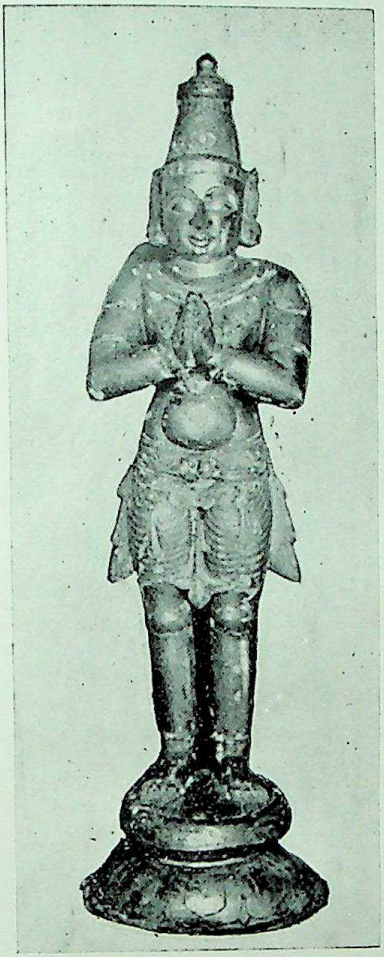

RAJARAJA I.

A metallic image which is nearly 2½ feet high with the label Rajarajendra-Solaraja of the big temple engraved in modern Tamil on the pedestal. This Royal Statue receives all the honours in the temple. *Vide* p. 30. The name as given on the label evidently refers to Rajaraja I, for it was he who was intimately connected with the construction and upkeep of this temple. It seems to be a later work done to perpetuate the memory of the founder of the great temple. The tradition locally current about this image also corroborates this view. *Ann. Ep. Rep.* 1925, p. 81.

[*By Courtesy of Mr. T. S. Dandapani Aiyar.*]

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revived, and the Founder's day was celebrated in ஐப்பசி on 15th November 1934; and, it is hoped it will be worthily commemorated in the years to come, and be a permanent feature of the temple's festivals.

The Tiruvadirai (திரு ஆதிரை) festival of ten days in December culminating in *Arudra Darsanam*, the Vasanta festival in June-July, and the rest of the periodical festivals of the Saivite calendar are being celebrated. The annual Government Mohini provision for the conduct of these festivals is Rs. 4,593-12-0, and the total grant for the temple inclusive of the above is Rs. 8,093-12-0. This temple has besides an income of about Rs. 1,100 from other endowed properties.[1]

The Temple has since been lit by Electricity out of public subscriptions, and, the switching on of the lights[2] was performed on 12th July 1935 by the Hon'ble Mr. P. T. Rajan, Minister for Development to the Government of Madras.

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(1) Properties :—

Place and Nature of land.	Extent V. M, K. C.	Probable income. Rs. A. P.
Tanjore—Shops ...	...	50 0 0
Tanjore Taluq—Soorakkottai—Dry and Wet ...	26 6 10 0	141 0 0
,, —Keela-vannippattu Dry ...	7 1 29 0	33 8 0
,, —Kandiyur Wet ...	0 0 0 50	7 0 0
,, Nagathi Wet and Dry ...	3 0 8 30	300 0 0
Mayavaram Taluq—Villianallur Wet ...	4 0 0 0	305 0 0
,, —Alangudi ,, ...	1 18 7 35	192 8 0

(2) A brilliant beacon light on the top of the Temple tower put up by Sri la Sri Swaminatha Swamigal of Kasi Mutt, Tiruppanandal, is a centre of attraction for the country around, as the temple itself is to the entire civilized world.

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APPENDIX A.

The Tanjore Palace Devastanams.

A historical survey of Sri Brihadisvara and connected Palace Temples in the district, will be of interest. A glorious line of rulers, from the ancient Cholas[1] to the last Mahratta Rajas nurtured these institutions, bestowing their best on them. Hinduism was a living religion to them, and its God a personal God. An abundance of culture and wealth created these institutions which have enabled them to live these many centuries and would sustain them for all time to come.

The Cholas founded most of these earlier temples and munificently endowed them. The Nayaks, who succeeded were themselves great builders. They also founded a number of temples and managed them all for over 125 years. The last Nayak gave in to Ekoji *alias* Venkaji (A.D. 1676) the Mahratta, and his successors held them for the next 128 years. Sarafoji II, ceded the Raj to the East India Company by a treaty of 25th October A.D. 1799 retaining however the temples and their endowments until his death in A.D. 1832. His son and successor, Sivaji, held them until his death on 29th October 1855. He left no lineal heir, and the Company's Government declared the title of the Raja of Tanjore to be extinct, and took over the Raj, inclusive of the temples, as an Act of State. Her Highness Kamatchi Bai Saheba, the late Raja's senior Ranee and widow, sued the Government for the restoration of the Raja's private estates and temples. In the year A.D. 1858 the British Government assumed the sovereignty of India from the East India Company. The private estates were ordered to be restored, and on March 19th, 1863, the temples and

(1) Sri Dayanidhisvarasvami Temple, Vadakurangaduturai, Papanasam Taluq, and Sri Sivayoganatha Svami Temple at Tiruviyalur, Kumbakonam Taluq are sung by Jnanasambandha and have திருப்பதிகம்.

The temples of Sri Neelamegap-perumal, Sri Manikkunnap-perumal, and Sri Melasingap-perumal, on the Vennar Bank at Tanjore are sung by the Alvars in சாலசீரப் பிரபந்தம், and are of the 108 sacred Vaishnava *Divya-desams.*

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RAJAH SHRI SIVAJI RAJAH SAHIB.

[*By Courtesy of the Senior Prince.*]

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their endowments were also restored in pursuance of the policy of non-interference in the management of Hindu Religious Institutions, the Government declaring that "it was desirable that the connection of Government with the pagodas should cease, and that they should accordingly be made over to Her Highness Kamatchi Bai Saheba." On her death in 1892, the Government again interfered, took possession of the temples, and placed them under the control of the Tanjore and Kumbakonam Circle Temple Committees, constituted under Act XX of 1863. It was then the turn of the next senior Ranee Her Highness Umamba Bai Saheba to sue the Government for possession of the temples. They were once again restored, and she continued to manage them until her death in July 1900. After her, Her Highness Jijamba Bai Saheba managed them till 3rd May 1912. On her demise, she was succeeded in the trusteeship by Rajahshri Sarafoji Rajah—an adopted son of the last ruler and of Her Highness Kamatchi Bai Saheba. His son and successor Rajahshri Sivaji Rajah Saheb administered them next, and after him his son Rajahshri Rajaram Rajah Saheb, the Senior Prince of Tanjore, who has succeeded to the hereditary Trusteeship of the Palace Devastanams under a scheme of administration framed by the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Board in B. O. No. 298, dated 5th July 1929, and modified in O. S. No. 4 of 1930 by the District Court, West Tanjore. The temples governed by the Scheme number eighty-eight. (*Vide* list below).

The temples that remained directly under the Mahratta rulers and were agreed to be retained by Raja Sarafoji by the treaty of A.D. 1799 numbered 102. The Company's Government had taken over the older Devadayam inam lands endowed by the past rulers of the country, and had commuted a money or Mohini allowance instead, for the upkeep of the temples. The later endowments of the Mahratta rulers alone remain to this day. The British Government paid the Mohini allowance in cash to the Political Resident through the

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Collector, and, a Special Officer of the Rajah controlled the temple expenditure, and apportioned particular amounts to each of the temples under the Rajah's orders. The temples as then classified according to their sources of income were as follows:—

1.	Pagodas enjoying Tasdic or ready money allowance from the Government Treasury ...	47
2.	Do. enjoying Tasdic and also possessing landed endowments ...	22
3.	Do. enjoying income from land alone ...	5
4.	Do. depending chiefly on assignments from the funds of other pagodas ...	5
5.	Do. enjoying money grants from the income of the Rajah's Mukasa villages ...	4
6.	Do. deriving their income from the Raja's Abkari revenue ...	2
7.	Do. deriving income from shop-tax ...	9
8.	Do. supported by grants from the Rajah's Treasury.	8

There were besides three others without any fixed income but dependent on the occasional bounty of the Rajah and his servants.

The 102 pagodas, situated in the Tanjore and Kumbakonam Taluks, were then divided for administrative purposes, into six firkas or divisions according to their situation and other considerations. They received on an average an annual gross income of Rs. 60,734-7-4; and, it is to be seen that in the particular fasli 1265 the receipts amounted to Rs. 65,236-15-0 as detailed below :—

				Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Sivankottah	9	temples ...	13,878	10	6
2.	Tanjore Fort	48	,, ...	12,947	7	3
3.	Carattenttangoody	22	,, ...	9,023	5	5
4.	Mariammankoil	4	,, ...	19,609	8	6
5.	Sakkavarambapoor	6	,, ...	5,246	10	11
6.	Cusbah Dimmut Cutcheri	13	,, ...	4,531	4	5

Prior to the year 1865, the annual cash Mohini allowance from Government was Rs. 32,655-7-9 in lieu of lands dedicated to the temples and taken over by the former

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Governments. This appears to be one of the terms of the Treaty between Sarafoji II and the East India Company when the latter took over the territories of the Rajah in A. D. 1799. This had continued to be paid, in pursuance of the terms of the Treaty, to Rajah Sarafoji and his successor Rajah Sivaji, till in 1865, an agreement was entered into, between Government and H. H. M. Kamatchiamba Bai Saheba (' not however without reluctance on the part of the Ranee ') by which ten villages with a revenue of Rs. 29,405-8-8 as then estimated per year, were made over by G. O. No. 1306, dated 1st June 1866 as Devastanam Mohini Inam in substitution of the yearly cash Mohini allowances that were till then being paid from the public treasury, with an addition of 10 per cent to cover costs of collection and vicissitudes of the season. This allowance had been apportioned collectively as below: For Nithyapadi Rs. 14,393-11-0; Festivals Rs. 8,096-8-0; and Mohini grants to Temples Rs. 6,918-4-9. H. H. M. Kamatchiamba Bai Saheba was in possession of these lands as hereditary trustee of the temples during her life time, and, after her, her heirs and they had been realising the rents of the ten villages as Inamdars, for the last 68 years. The Government have since by G. O. No. Press 51, Rev., Confl. dated 8-1-1934 resumed the inam and substituted therefor the original cash allowance of Rs. 29,405-8-8 in the shape of beriz deductions. The resumption is being contested, and is *Sub-judice* in O. S. 9 of 1935 in the Court of the Subordinate Judge of Tanjore.

List of temples attached to the Palace Devastanams, Tanjore.

I.—TANJORE TALUK.

A. Tanjore Fort—

1. Sri Brihadisvarasvami Koil.
2. ,, Sankaranarayanasvami Koil.
3. ,, Kali Amman Koil.
4. ,, Balaganapati Koil.
5. ,, Thopparankatti Pillayar Koil.
6. ,, Arkasalai Pillayar Koil.
7. ,, Sivagangai Pillayar Koil.
8. ,, Chetty Street Hanumar Koil.
9. ,, Sivalingasvami Koil.
10. ,, Konkanesvarasvami Koil.
11. Sri Sannathi Pillayar Koil.
12. ,, Ayyankulam Visvanathar Koil.
13. ,, Kasi Visvanathasvami Koil.
14. ,, Prathapa Veera Hanumar Koil.
15. ,, Navaneetha Krishnasvami Koil.
16. ,, Vijaya Ramasvami Koil.
17. ,, Lakshatope Hanumar Koil.
18. ,, Booloka Krishnan Koil.
19. ,, Gurunathasvami Koil.
20. ,, Naduvalnathar Koil.

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21. Sri Melavasal Subramaniasvami Koil.
22. ,, Mannarsvami Koil.
23. ,, Omali Pillayar Koil.
24. ,, Naganatha Pillayar Koil.
25. ,, Badra Kali Koil.
26. ,, Utsava Kodiamman Koil.
27. ,, Theertha Sanjivi Koil.
28. ,, Veera Hanumar Koil.
29. ,, Sivendrasvami Koil.
30. ,, Prasanna Venkatesa Perumal Koil.
31. ,, Govindarajaperumal Koil.
32. ,, Ellai Amman Koil.
33. ,, Bazaar Ramasvami Koil.
34. ,, Kaliyuga Venkatesa Perumal Koil.
35. ,, Varadarajaperumal Koil.
36. ,, Keelasinga Perumal Koil.
37. ,, Keela Kothandaramasvami Koil.
38. ,, Manikarnikesvarasvami Koil.
39. ,, Bajana Salai Vitoba Koil.
40. ,, Vellai Pillayar Koil.
41. ,, South Main Street Visvanathasvami Koil.
42. ,, Adi Kesava Perumal Koil.
43. ,, Madana Gopalasvami Koil.
44. ,, 108 Thirupathi.
45. ,, Janarthana Perumal Koil.
46. ,, Kalanjiyam Lakshmi Koil,
47. ,, Gurukula Sanjivi Koil.
48. ,, Amirtha Venkatesar Koil.
49. ,, Poorva Sanjivi Koil.
50. ,, Dakshina Sanjivi Koil.
51. ,, Vettai Marga Sanjivi Koil.
52. ,, Ananda Pillayar Koil.
53. ,, Darpoora Varadarajar Koil,
54. ,, Chathurbuja Pillayar Koil.
55. ,, Veerabadrasvami Koil.
56. ,, Vallam Pattabiramar Koil.

B. Karunthattangudi—

57. Sri Siththi Vinayakarsvami Koil.
58. ,, Vasisteswarasvami Koil.
59. ,, Meenakshi Sundaresvarar Koil.
60. ,, Naganathasvami Koil.
61. ,, Poomalai Vaithinathar Koil.
62. ,, Vadabatra Kali Amman Koil.
63. ,, Padithurai Venkatesa-perumal Koil.

C. Vennar Bank—

64. Sri Ananda Valli Amman Koil.
65. ,, Melasinga Perumal Koil.
66. ,, Manikkunna Perumal Koil.
67. ,, Neelamega Perumal Koil.
68. Sri Kalyana Venkatesa Perumal Koil.
69. ,, Velur Varadarajar Koil.
70. ,, Chokkanadasvami Koil.
71. ,, Sundaresvarasvami Koil.
72. ,, Kalastheesvarasvami Koil.
73. ,, Kodiamman Koil.
74. ,, Thalikesvarasvami Koil.

D. Arasur—

75. Sri Agastheesvarasvami Koil.

E. Trivadi—

76. Sri Venugopalasvami Koil.

F. Manambuchavady—

77. Sri Vijaya Mandapam Thiagarajasvami Koil.

G. Tanjore Fort—

78. Sri Triambakeswarasvami Koil.
79. ,, Melavasal Ranganathasvami Koil.

H. Mariamman Koil—

80. Sri Mariamman Koil.
81. ,, Kothandaramasvami Koil.
82. ,, Kailasanathasvami Koil.
83. ,, Ukkra Kali Amman Koil.

II. Papanasam Taluk.

I. Aduthurai—

84. Sri Dayanidheesvarasvami Koil.

III. Kumbakonam Taluk.

J. Darasuram—

85. Sri Iravadheeswarasvami Koil.

K. Sakwarambalpuram—

86. Sri Saptharishisvarasvami Koil.

Tiruvisanallur—

87. Sri Sivayoganadhasvami Koil.

L. Thiruvidaimarutur—

88. Sri Narthana Vinayagasvami Koil.

also

89. Bilwa Archanai in Sri Kothandaramasvami temple at Rameswaram.
90. Akanta Deepam and Tulasi archanai in Sri Ranganathasvami temple at Srirangam.
91. Bilwa archanai in Sri Jambukeswarasvami temple at Tiruvanaikkaval (Trichinopoly).

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List of villages attached to the Tanjore Palace Devastanams with their extent and probable income.

I. *Tanjore Taluk.*

Serial number and name of taluk and village.	Nanja. Punja house-site etc.	Extent. V.	M	K.	C.	Income in kind. K.	M.	Income in cash. Rs.	A.	P.	Remarks.
1 Tanjore Town ...	House site and buildings	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,648	0	0	Extent not given as they are house sites and buildings.
2 Soora Kottai ...	Nanja and Punja ...	20	6	10	0	...	...	141	0	0	
3 Keela Vannippattu ...	Punja ...	7	1	29	0	...	...	33	1	9	
4 Kandiyur ...	Nanja ...	0	0	50	0	6	0	...	...	...	
5 Nagathi ...	Nanja and Punja ...	3	0	8	30	240	0	142	0	0	Melwaram.
6 Coodalur ...	Nanja ...	0	9	67	0	123	0	...	...	...	
7 Kodikalur ...	Do. ...	20	1	65	0	103	0	1,689	7	4	
8 Manojipatti ...	Punja ...	0	10	0	0	...	...	20	0	0	
9 Lakshatope ...	Do. ...	0	10	0	0	...	...	40	4	0	
10 Mela Tiruppunthuruthi ...	Nanja ...	16	1	82	50	1,905	0	200	0	0	
11 Keela do. ...	Do. ...	1	9	22	0	75	0	4	0	0	
12 Nadukkauveri ...	Nanja and Punja ...	2	14	0	0	102	0	256	0	0	
13 Bommani Tottam ...	Nanja ...	2	15	31	1	321	0	10	0	0	
14 Karunthattangudi ...	House site and shops.	...	...	...	...	...	...	282	10	0	Extent not given as they are house sites and shops.
15 Vennar Bank ...	Nanja, Punja and House site	...	...	...	...	...	...	406	10	0	
16 Avu Saheb Tottam ...	Punja ...	1	13	53	0	...	...	176	0	0	
17 Arthajama Kattalai Tottam ...	Nanja and Punja ...	2	8	47	0	325	0	150	0	0	
18 Arasur ...	Nanja ...	0	19	98	0	210	0	50	0	0	
19 Velur ...	Do. ...	0	6	40	0	39	0	...	...	...	
20 Melavali ...	Punja ...	4	24	77	44	...	...	96	0	0	
21 Arumolipettai ...	Punja and Nanja ...	33	7	26	0	96	0	635	10	8	Tank fed.
22 Sanjeevi Tottam ...	Do. ...	0	3	93	48	27	0	...	...	...	
23 Vythianathampet ...	Nanja ...	0	1	35	0	16	0	...	...	...	
24 Keerakollai ...	Punja ...	0	0	4	0	...	...	2	5	4	
25 Tiruchorruturai ...	Nanja and Punja ...	9	12	52	61	365	0	547	8	0	

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List of villages attached to the Tanjore Palace Devastanams with their extent and probable income—(contd.)

Serial number and name of taluk and village.	Nanja Punja house-site etc.	Extent.				Income in kind.		Income in cash.			Remarks.
		V.	M.	K.	C.	K.	M.	Rs.	A.	P.	
II. Papanasam Taluk.											
26 Pinnanallur ...	Punja and house site.	...	...	...	...	...	...	329	15	0	Extent not given as they are shops, etc.
27 Prandhai ...	Punja ...	13	13	77	32	...	...	700	0	0	Tank fed lands.
28 Bavani Ambalpuram ...	Nanja and Punja ...	3	0	0	0	35	4	...	...	...	
29 Mariambalpuram ...	Nanja ...	20	0	0	0	...	...	2,076	2	7	Melwaram.
30 Kovil Devarayampet ...	Manaikat ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	8	0	
31 Athur ...	Nanja and Punja ...	0	15	0	0	42	0	...	...	...	
32 Kottaiyur ...	Nanja ...	4	5	7	24	405	0	15	0	0	
33 Mahimalai ...	Do. ...	0	10	67	0	31	0	1	4	0	
34 Arindavapuram ...	Do. ...	0	2	7	0	1	0	...	...	...	
35 Vadakurang Aduturai ...	Nanja and Punja ...	13	12	86	4	1,020	6	2,531	13	5	
36 Annappampet ...	Nanja ...	2	14	3	0	102	0	12	8	0	
III. Mannargudi Taluk.											
37 Ottagudi ...	Nanja ...	13	16	84	62	1,100	0	26	0	0	
38 Rishiyur ...	Do. ...	5	0	4	20	540	0	10	0	0	
IV. Kumbakonam Taluk.											
39 Darasuram ...	Nanja and Punja ...	9	16	21	16	367	0	976	11	6	
40 Ariyappadaiyur ...	Nanja ...	4	5	80	40	500	0	10	0	0	
41 Ammachatram ...	Nanja and Punja ...	0	15	5	55	15	0	254	1	4	
42 Koranad Karuppur ...	Do. ...	1	5	29	12	52	0	96	0	0	
43 Tiruvisanallur ...	Nanja and Punja and tope	0	17	14	63	45	0	444	12	3	
V. Mayavaram Taluk.											
44 Alangudi ...	Nanja ...	1	18	7	35	154	0	12	8	6	
45 Villiyanallur ...	Do. ...	4	0	0	0	270	0	5	0	0	
VI. Trichinopoly Taluk.											
46 Pandamangalam ...	Nanja and Punja ...	0	15	27	0	45	0	16	4	0	

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APPENDIX B.

A Summary of Chapters X to XXI of *Brihadisvara Mahatmya*[1]

CHAPTER X.

"*Sivalingachola Virachola Carite*:—Virachola's son Karikala married Kancanangika. His Guru was the Brahmin Haradatta (called Kanjanur Alvar in the Tamil translation), who directed the construction of temples in his reign. The king had an attack of black leprosy (*krishna kustha*) and became miserable on account of it. He appealed to his Guru for assistance, and, the latter worshipped Agniswara for a mandala with the aid of Saiva Brahmanas.

CHAPTER XI.

"*Haradattacaryaprarthanam*:—Haradatta at the end of the mandala while sleeping on the threshold of the Sivalaya dreamt a dream in which Iswara informed him that the king was suffering on account of injuries he had inflicted on animals as a hunter in a former birth, and, that he would be cured if he built a temple with a tall *Gopura* and suitably enshrined in it a mysterious linga which was to be brought from the Narmada and which would increase in size after it was taken out of the water and thus earn for itself the name Brihadisvara. A temple to the Goddess Brihannayika was also to be made and a big Nandi carved from a monolith was to be installed before the Iswara. To leave nothing uncertain the Lord even chose the architect to be employed. On his completing these works the king would be freed from his *sarvanga kustha*.

CHAPTER XII.

"*Haradattasvapnakathanam*: Haradatta returns to the Cola Court and is given a grand reception before he

(1) *Vide* Journal of Oriental Research, IV, iv, pp. 324-29.

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narrates the substance of his dream to the king. The king consents to carry out the Lord's instructions.

CHAPTER XIII.

"No name for the chapter: Invitation to *silpi* Somavarma, reception accorded to him; his worship of Kali. Her good will towards the enterprise assured.

CHAPTER XIV.

"*Brihadisvaralinganayanam* :—Somavarma commences work on the large *Gopura*; the king leaves with 64 merchants for the Narmada and brings the linga in six months.

CHAPTER XV.

"No name for the chapter: Construction of the temple for twelve years. The son of Somavarma aged twelve learns from his mother about the task on which his father has been engaged and goes to Tanjore. (The Sanskrit Ms. says: Even at the end of twelve years the foundation had not been completed. Somavarma's own son who had come to visit his father after the latter's absence of twelve years found fault with the proportion of the base for the tower and advised the king to remodel it suitably. The father was convinced of his miscalculation. The father and son set to work together and constructed the tower). Somavarma then acknowledged the superior knowledge of his son and gave him control of the work. As the construction of the *Gopuram* was nearing completion, they were on the look out for a monolith for closing the *Brahmarandhra* below the Sikhara[1]. At that moment an old woman who had been feeding some workmen for some years implored them to use a stone (*silakhanda*) belonging to her in the construction of the temple, and it happened that this stone was found quite suitable for the

(1) The motive for using the stone of the old woman is mentioned in the Tamil translation and is not found in the Sanskrit Ms. The Tamil is "கோபுரத்துக்குமேல் சிகரங்கட்டுகைக்கு கீழே பிரமாந்தி வெளிமூடுகிற கல்லு ஒரு கல்லாயிருக்கவேணுமென்று யோசனை பண்ணிக்கொண் டிருக்கசெ ஒரு கிள(ழ)வி....."

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purpose on hand and accordingly it was used for closing the *Brahmarandhra*. Soonafter, Brihadisvara was duly enshrined in the temple, and minor shrines erected round about. In the end the architect was rewarded by the grant of the village Solapuram and by other honours done to him.

CHAPTER XVI.

"*Brihadisvarakumbhabhiseka* :—Description of the Kumbhabhiseka of the new temple, grant of ten villages Sulamangalam and others by copper plate charters; establishment of *nata*, *narttaka*, Vesya and other servants. Gift of 1,000 cows for *panchamrtabhiseka*.

CHAPTER XVII.

"*Karikalagopura nirunam Nama* :—On this occasion Karikala bathed in the tank also and was freed from blackleprosy (*Sarvangakustha-nirmuktah Raja Somaivababhau*.) Ganga appeared and discoursed on the merits of bathing in the Sivaganga on particular days. The king sang a hymn to his God, the Brihadisastaka as it is called. He then made many *danas* to Brahmanas and went back to his palace. In his sleep that night, Brihadisvara and Brihannayika appeared to him in a dream and informed him that they were quite comfortable on account of the food given by him and the shade ensured by the old woman. The next morning the king instituted an enquiry and ascertained the truth about the old woman's stone. Thereupon he became anxious to secure for himself the entire merit for the erection of the temple and appealed to the Lord to point to him a way of securing his object; the God suggested to the king that he might flatter the old woman and please her by gifts of treasure and persuade her to transfer her merit to him, which he did, by constructing the Airavatesvara Shrines[1] in accordance with the old woman's wishes with the money (Laksatankam) he had made over to her. Karikala then attained Kailasa after 90 years of rule leaving the

(1) The Sri Airavatesvara temple at Darasuram—*Vide* note on page 13. The Puranic account is different.

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kingdom to his son Bhima Cola. His fame, we are assured, is attested by inscriptions on the walls of the Brihadisvara temple.

CHAPTER XVIII.

"*Bhimacola Carite*:—Bhima married a Kerala princess Vidyullata. General praise of his rule and special mention of abundant food for travellers on roads in choultries. The king enforced Saivism. Erection of fresh temples, Sopanas, etc. Sankaranarayana appeared to the queen in a dream, mentioned a spot where she should worship him as a *linga*, and promised her a son Rajendra. This promise was fulfilled in due course and Rajendra married Kamalini, the daughter of Kulasekhara Pandya. Bhima's rule lasted seventy-seven years.

CHAPTER XIX.

"*Rajendra Colacaritakathanam*:—Rajendra conquered many of his neighbours and levied tribute from them and constructed new Siva temples. King Prataparudra[1] was refractory and lost an eye in consequence: Rajendra's son was Viramartanda. After seventy-eight years (எழுவத்தெட்டாம் வயதிலே) Rajendra attained Kailasa with his wife.

CHAPTERS XX-XXI.

"*Konkonesvaramahatmya Viramartanda Colacarite*:—Viramartanda married the Cera princess Manikkavallika. General praise of his rule. Erection of shrines to Siva and even to Vishnu, *e.g.*, Sarangapani and Chakrapani temples at Kumbakonam. One day the king asked the Brahman Devasarma to narrate the story of Konkana-Siddha, a pupil of Dattatreya, who after devotions to Siva and the installation of a new *linga* Konkanesvara, attained bliss.

"Devasarma offered to tell another story and the king listened. It was the story of a Vanikkanya of

(1) " The three eyed king of the Telugu country who suffreed the loss of his third eye at the hands ot a Cola was Pallava Trinetra and not Prataparudra and the Cola king ruling at the time was Karikala, not Rajendra as our Purana has it ".—K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

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Tanjore who was devoted to the Lord, refused to marry any one except Him, and was married over-night by Konkanesvara (like the Pandyan princess in olden days).

"Next morning her relatives missed her at home and found her in the temple. When they sought to take her back a voice stopped them. She is still seen to be there in stone. The temple was renovated by the king after he heard the story. In the end after six years Kirticola was made king by his father who attained bliss with his queen.[1]"

(1) "The long narration (chaps. X-XVII) of Karikala's leprosy, the exertions of Haradatta and the construction of the Brihadiswara temple which apparently forms the central theme of the puranas and gives it one of the two names by which it is known—this legend is not only unsupported by any other account known to us, but is given the lie direct by the very inscriptions on the walls of the temple which are cited in his support by the ignorant verifier who indited the *Mahatmya*"—p. 337. 'Cola Legends'; Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. The Journal of Oriental Research, IV, iv, pp. 324-329.

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APPENDIX C.

A Note on Rajaraja the Great.

Rajaraja the Great, occupies the foremost place in the history of the later Cholas.[1] The founder of the family was Vijayalaya[2] (A.D. 846-880). He conquered the country from a vassal chief of the Pallavas, Perumpidugu Muttaraiyan and established Tanjore as the capital of the dynasty. His son and successor Aditya I conquered the Pallavas and the Kongu country[3] (A.D. 894); and, his son Parantaka I (A.D. 907-53) was a more distinguished figure, for under his leadership, the Cholas acquired a dominion which foreshadowed the greater empire of Rajaraja and Kulottunga. Parantaka I[4] was "a veritable Rama in battle," won victories over the Banas, the Gangas, the Pandyas and the King of Ceylon. The fact and the extent of his conquests are known from his inscriptions. Towards the end of his reign, or before his death the Rashtrakutas under Krishnaraja III invaded the Tamil country, killed the Chola Prince Rajaditya at Takkolam (near Arakonam Junction) in A.D 947-8, and seized Tondainadu which they seemed to have ruled for about a quarter of a century, confining the sway of the Cholas to their ancestral dominion comprising the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts. The names of the next five kings after Rajaditya are known, but little is on record regarding their life history. They were Gandaraditya, Arinjaya, Parantaka II, Aditya—Karikala or Aditya II, and Madurantaka.

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(1) The Anbil Grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 44 *ff*); the Leyden Grant, (*Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, pp. 201 *ff*); the Tiruvalangadu Grant (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 383 *ff*); and the Kanyakumari inscription of Vira-Rajendra-Deva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21-55) are the four most important documents for the construction of the history of the Chola dynasty.

(2) See *Epi. Rep.*, 1910.

(3) See *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 278, also *Ep. Rep.* 1901, also Sewell's lists.

(4) Parantaka I is said in the Leyden grant to have covered the temple of Siva at Chidambaram with "pure gold" brought from the regions subdued by the power of his "own arm," and, the copper grants found at Udayendiram state that he practised many meritorious acts and gifts, such as the *Hemagarbha* and the *Tulabhara*, gifts of land to Brahmans, and the building of temples.

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Portrait of sculptured figures of Rajaraja and his Queen at the Darasuram Temple.

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.*]

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A stone panel of Rajaraja and his Queens at the Tanjore Palace.

[*By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.*]

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Aditya—Karikala II appears to have reconquered Tondainadu a few years later. Inscriptions dated in his reign have been found in Ukkal, not far from Conjeevaram, and other villages of that *nadu*. But the early reverses to the Chola power however seemed to have caused the revolt of apparently the whole of its recently acquired empire, and, it was only with the reign of Rajaraja I that lost ground was fully recovered.

On Aditya's death, or on the death of Parantaka II, whichever was the later, the succession was probably disputed. The subjects besought Arunmolivarman—the future Rajaraja I—to become king, but he did not want the throne as long as his paternal uncle Madurantaka Uttama-Chola was fond of his country. Eventually, Arunmolivarman was appointed heir-apparent, while Madurantaka "bore the burden of the earth." It looks as if the former was a minor, when his father or elder brother died. Rajaraja's date of accession[1] is calculated to be somewhere between the 25th June and 25th July A.D. 985. His reign of about twenty-eight years is the starting point of a period of unexampled prosperity which remained unbroken, with but one short interval, for over a century.

The original title of Arunmolivarman (Rajaraja I) was Rajakesari Varman,[2] or Rajakesari Varman Mummudi-Sola-Deva, which occurs in his earliest inscriptions. The composer of the Tiruvalangadu plates

(1) Rice, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, No. 40, Canarese inscription at Balmuri.

(2) The Tiruvalangadu plates, [S. *I. I.* III; *Ep. Rep.* 1906, part 2, pp. 11-18], call him Arunmolivarman (one whose words are precious), which occurs also in a slightly altered form—Arumolideva in some of the Tamil records of his reign. He bore several titles of which the following are the more important:—Mummudi or Mummudi-Chola (the Chola who wore the three crowns), Chola Arumoli, Rajasraya (The Asylum of Kings), Nityavinoda, Sri Rajaraja, and Sivapadasekhara (one who has the feet of Siva on his crown). He seems to have assumed the title Jayankonda-Chola towards the end of his life. These titles of his figure in territorial designations occurring in the Tanjore inscriptions, and, one is tempted to think that in the names of the provinces Kshatriya-Sikhamani-valanadu, Pandya-Kulasani-valanadu, Keralantaka-valanadu, Rajendrasimha-valanadu, and Uyyakondar-valanadu, the titles Kshtriya-Sikhamani Pandya-Kulasani, and the others were the other titles borne by Rajaraja I.

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remarks, that at the birth of the Prince Arunmolivarman, "the wives of the serpent (Adisesha who is supposed to carry the earth) danced for joy in the belief that he would relieve their husband of the burden of bearing the earth." Rajakesarivarman Mummudi Chola was the second son of the Chola Parantaka II *alias* Sundara Chola, who was also known as *Ponmaligaittunjina Deva* (Ins. 302 of '08), the king who died at the Golden Hall, *i. e.*, the temple at Chidambaram. According to the Tiruvalangadu plates, Sundara Chola's queen, Vanavan Mahadevi is stated to have committed *suttee*. The parents of Rajaraja, as devout Saivites, must have been spending their last days at Chidambaram. It was evidently this aspect of their life that appealed most strongly to their daughter (Kundavaiyar) who set up their images in the Tanjore temple, and made an endowment for their worship.[1]

So far as it is known, Rajaraja had an elder sister and an elder brother. The latter was Aditya-Karikala, and all that is known of him, is that he fought in his youth with Vira Pandya. In stone inscriptions, he is known as 'Parakesarivarman who took the head of Vira Pandya.' The name of Rajaraja's sister was Kundavaiyar called in the inscriptions Alvar Parantakan Kundavaip-pirattiar. She had married a certain Vallavaraiyar-Vandyadevar, a Pallava King[2] about whom much is not known. It is evident that she spent her later life in Tanjore with her younger brother, and that she even survived him. Rajaraja entertained a high regard for her, and she appears to have exercised considerable influence over him. The respect and great affection which Rajaraja showed to his sister throws an indirect light on his domestic life. His first daughter was named after her. She is spoken of as his "venerable elder sister." In the sentence which the king himself is said to have uttered when ordering all the grants made to the temple to be engraved on stone, the place assigned to his elder sister is next to

(1) *S. I. I.*, II, No. 6.
(2) *S. I. I.*, II, i, Nos. 2, 6, 7 and 8.

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himself, and the queens are only mentioned after her.[1] During Rajaraja's reign, the walls of the central shrine seem to have been reserved for registering the king's grants, and the gifts made by the queen and the officers of the State had to be recorded on the niches and pillars of the enclosure. But Kundavaiyar's gifts were invariably engraved on the central shrine. This affection he bestowed on his sister and the privileges he accorded to his grand aunt Sembiyan Mahadevi, the mother of Uttama Chola reveal him as a great and good man.

Only one son, and three daughters of the King are known, namely; Rajendra Chola I, Kundavai, who married the Eastern Chalukya King Vimaladitya[2] (Ins. 215 of 1894) Mahadevadigal (*Ep Rep*. Ins. 633 of 1902 from Tiruvalanjuli) known by her gifts to the Tiruvaiyaru Sri Lokamahadesvaram temple, and another whose name is not traceable.

Rajaraja had a number of queens: Danti-sakti Vitankiar *alias* Lokamahadevi, Cholamahadevi Abhimanavalli, Trailokyamahadevi, Panchavanmahadevi, Iladamadevi (Latamahadevi), Prithivimahadevi, Vanavan Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi—the mother of Rajendra[3]—and others known from the inscriptions. Each of them set up a number of images in the Tanjore Rajarajesvara temple, and made gifts to them. Lokamahadevi was probably the chief queen. She it was who built the shrine of Sri Lokamahadesvarar, called Uttara Kailasa in the Sri Panchanadisvara temple at Tiruvaiyaru (Trivadi, 6 miles N. E. of Tanjore), and made many valuable gifts to it. The other queens were all apparently princesses by birth, as the title Mahadevi is attached to their names. Panchavan Mahadevi was probably the daughter of a Pandya, Panchavan, being a hereditary name of the Pandyas.

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(1) *S. I. I.*, II, Ins. No. 1

(2) Ins. 215 of 1894. Vimaladitya, the Eastern Chalukya King of Vengi, who married Rajaraja's first daughter Kundavai also bestowed large gifts to the temple in about A. D. 1013-4.

(3) *Vide* Ins. No. 117-A of 1896; also No. 448 of 1918.

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The personality of this mighty conqueror excites one's imagination ; but unfortunately few particulars have survived. More is no doubt yet to be learnt of his military achievements, mentioned in thousands of his inscriptions found over a large part of the Madras Presidency. Until the eighth year of his reign (A. D. 994) he did not undertake any expedition and probably during this time he was recruiting an efficient army, and preparing himself for the struggle to restore Chola power and prestige.

When Rajaraja came to the throne, he inherited the Chola and Kongu Kingdoms, the former comprising very nearly the modern Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, and the latter the Coimbatore district. His elder Sister Kundavai having married the Pallava King Vandyadeva who was most probably a weak prince and subservient to Rajaraja, the latter's authority extended over the territories of the Pallava King also, that is the whole of the country now known as the Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts.

Rajaraja began his career by the conquest of the Chera country. His earliest recorded campaign in or about A. D. 994 was directed against the Chera King Bhaskara Ravivarman [1] whose fleet he destroyed in the port of Kandalur. He is also said to have seized the Pandya Amara Bhujanga and his general, and captured

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(1) Travancore Archæological Series, Vol. II, pp. 3-5. The earliest inscriptions of Rajaraja are of the 8th and 10th regnal years, and imply the conquest of the Chera country.

In discussing the geneology of the Cholas, the *Kalingattuparani*, mentions Rajaraja after the Chola king who vanquished the Pandya and Singhalese forces, and states that he captured Udakai in the Uthia (or Chera) Kingdom. The *Vikrama Cholan Ula* similarly alludes to him, after the Cholas who built the *Kanaka Sabha* and praises him for having cut off the heads of eighteen princes and conquered *Malai nadu* in retaliation for the insult offered to his envoy. He is referred to in the *Kulottangan-Cholan-Ula* and *Rajaraja-Cholan-Ula* also as the king who destroyed Udakai. It is evident therefore that Rajaraja commenced his career of conquests by chastising the princes at Udakai in the Chera kingdom who had insulted his envoy—V. Kanakasabai Pillai—" Madras Review "—February 1902.

Vide Kalingattupparani - Canto VIII, v. 24.

Vikrama Cholan-Ula - See Indian Antiquary, XXII, p. 142; also *Rajraja-Cholan-Ula.*

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the port of Vilinam. It was at about the 14th year of his reign (A. D. 998-99) that most of his triumphs were achieved. He conquered the Gangas of Mysore (capital at Talakad), the country of the Nolambas (Bellary), Tadigaippadi (not satisfactorily identified), Vengi (southern part of the Northern Circars), Coorg (Kudamalainadu), and the Pandyas. The last were the natural enemies of the Cholas, and Rajaraja seems to have gloried most in his victories over them. Having already overcome the Chera, probably while destroying his ships at Kandalur or in the war against the Pandyas, Rajaraja assumed the title "Mummudi Chola," *i.e.*, the Chola king who wears the three crowns of the Chera, the Chola and the Pandya.[1] The title first occurs in an inscription of his fourteenth year at Melpadi in the North Arcot district. The Western and the Eastern Chalukyas of the Deccan, who were both destined to be closely connected with the future history of the Cholas, were conquered next. The Eastern Chalukyas fell before him in A.D. 998-99, and in their territory, he brought to an end an interregnum of twenty-seven years by putting a king of the old line upon the throne, apparently as his feudatory. A few years later, a prince of this house, Vimaladitya married the eldest daughter of Rajaraja and became King of Vengi which was still under Chola suzerainty. His son and grandson also married daughters of Chola kings, and, it was the second of these rulers, the great Kulottunga I, who, in later years, claimed the Chola Kingdom as his mother's heritage and established a new dynasty at Tanjore. The warlike Western Chalukyas under Satyasraya II were subdued by about A. D. 1006-7, though the victory cannot be said to have had permanent results. They remained for long the most stubborn enemies of the Cholas. During the next three years, Rajaraja subdued Quilon (Kollam on the Malabar Coast), and the northern kingdom of Kalinga, (the Vizag and Ganjam country lying south of Orissa) through his son Rajendra I. The Chola also simultaneously

(1) Another interpretation—"the thrice (powerful) Chola." *Vide* '*The Colas*,' p, 199.

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directed his arms against Lanka (Ceylon) in order that "the eight quarters might praise him." For a period of the next three years between the 18th and 21st years, A. D. 1002-05 [1] of his reign, there is little information of his military exploits available from his inscriptions, though possibly his protracted campaigns in Ceylon during this period resulted in the annexation of that island in the 20th year of his reign. Rajaraja having thus realised his cherished military glories, in or about A. D. 1003 he sheathed his sword and turned his thoughts towards a life in peace. During this busy period, Rajaraja passed from victory to victory, and when he died he was beyond dispute the Lord Paramount of Southern India, ruling a realm which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon, and a large part of Mysore.

It was about this time, the Chidambaram temple authorities bestowed on him the title of "Sri Rajaraja" and "Sivapadasekhara"; and, the king remembering the pious works of his ancestor Parantaka I, began the construction of the Great Temple at Tanjore, his capital city. This has evidently served as a model for a large number of other temples in South India, and is a stupendous monument of the religious instinct of this sovereign. The period between the 23rd and 29th year of his reign was also not characterised by any military exploits. The Chola dominions enjoyed peace, and the king apparently devoted his energies to the task of the internal administration. His mind must at this period have been preoccupied with the completion of the Tanjore Rajarajesvara temple and the multifarious endowments and gifts to it.

An ardent devotee of Siva as he was, Rajaraja showed himself to be a great statesman, in being highly tolerant in matters of religion. All creeds received equal favour at his hands. The decorative sculptures on the

(1) At Padaviya in Ceylon, there is a Tamil inscription of the 27th year of Rajaraja Deva corresponding to A. D. 1002-1005.
Also *Vide Kongudesa-Rajakkal.*

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walls of the temple, and the construction of some Vishnu temples by him in Mysore, and his gifts to other Vishnu temples recorded in his inscriptions are proof of his liberal policy. He had also granted large endowments to the Cudamani Vihara in Negapatam[1] built by the Sailendra King, Sri Vijayottunga Varman—the Lord of Sri Visaya and Kataha (the modern Kedah in the Malay-Archipelago).

The significant service of this great Chola to the Saiva devotional literature deserves also particular mention. As a worshipper of Sri Tyagaraja at Tiruvarur, the king heard the recital at the holy presence, of only a few stanzas, that remained current of the full collection of the *Tevaram* hymns of Saints Sundarar, Tirunavukkarasar and Jnanasambandha. He was greatly concerned at the loss of such a priceless treasure to Saivism, and set out for their search. His efforts were fruitless. Hearing of the celebrated *Adi-Saiva* Nambi-andar-Nambi of Tirunaraiyur,[2] the king sought his help,

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(1) *Vide*, Extract from Leyden Grant, p. 14 *supra*, also *Ind. Ant.*, VII, 224 ; and Madras G. O. Public Nos. 922, 923 dated Aug. 19, 1899.

(2) The life of St. Nambi-andar-Nambi mentions the name of the king as Apaya Kulasekara Chola ruling at Tiruvarur. He is identified as Rajaraja I himself. The account of the discovery of the *Tevaram* hymns is as given below in the saint's life, " At this time, king Apaya Kulasekara Chola Maharaja was ruling at Tiruvarur. This king was himself a great devotee of God Thyagesar of Tiruvarur. The king having come to know of the miracles of Nambi-andar-Nambi, with his mighty armies and all paraphernalia went to him with large quantities of fruits and sweets, and worshipping Nambi-andar-Nambi requested him to offer all his fruits and sweets to Pollappillaiyar. Nambi-andar-Nambi sanctified the offerings and gave them to the God who graciously ate them. Thereupon the king was mightily pleased, and prayed to Nambi-andar-Nambi to bring to light the *Tevaram* hymns of the great Saiva Apostles and their life histories. Nambi-andar-Nambi made a request to Pollappillayar, who said, " there is at the back of the golden temple at Chidambaram a room bearing the palm imprints of the three great Apostles and the *Tevaram* hymns are preserved there." Pollappillaiyar also recounted the histories of the Saiva Saints. This fact was intimated to the king.

" The king accompanied by Nambi-andar-Nambi went to Chidambaram. There they all bathed in the sacred " Sivaganga " tank, and after the usual ceremonies went to the temple and worshipped the presiding Lord. Nambi-andar-Nambi then composed the poem *Koyirriruppanniyar-Viruttam* on the Lord of the Golden Temple.

" The king intimated the *Andhanars* of Tillai (Chidambaram) about his errand. The *Anthanars* said that if the king could bring those saints the room

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and discovered the collection of the *Tevaram*—Divine garland of hymns—in a room at the back of Sri Nataraja's *sanctum* at the Chidambaram Temple. Nambi-andar-Nambi also at the instance of the King compiled them as the first seven of the twelve *Tirumurai* or Sacred Books of Saivism, and, arranged to have them sung in the chief Saiva shrines.

The fact of his religious fervour is also to be seen in his naming the temple treasury as *Tanjai Vitankan* the unit of measure in the temple as *Adavallan*, and of weight as *Dakshina Meru Vitankan*—the names of the deity.

If Rajaraja was great in War, he was not the less so in peace; for he had the genius to organise Government in an eminent degree, and most of the kingdoms conquered by him remained integral parts of the Chola Empire during the reign of many of his successors. Under his strong rule, the conquered countries as well as the Chola kingdom enjoyed perfect peace and security of property.

The coins[1] of Rajaraja speak for the extent of his dominions and the prosperity of his rule. His copper *Kasus* are met with throughout the Madras Presidency in large numbers, though the silver ones are rare, and gold ones are rarer still. There are two principal types of these, one carrying on both sides the Chola symbol

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could be opened. Thereupon, the king conducted a huge festival in honour of Sri Nataraja, and took the idols of the three great saints in procession and brought them before the room containing the *Tevaram* hymns. The *Andhanars* were pleased with the intelligence of the king and opened the room. It was a most heart-rending sight to see the palm leaves on which the hymns were written all covered with white ants and earth. The palm leaves were carefully taken and cleaned with oil. The king wept at the destruction of almost all the leaves. Then the Lord of Tillai in a voice from Heaven, proclaimed, "Only those hymns which are fit for this age are preserved, and all the rest have been consumed by the white ants at Our Will." Then the king got pacified and danced in ecstasy. He asked Nambi-andar-Nambi to compile the *Tevaram* hymns and other sacred utterances. Accordingly Nambi-andar-Nambi compiled them into Eleven *Tirumurai*—"Sacred Books"—(பதினொன்று திருமுறைகள்)—the first seven comprising the *Tevaram*, and the four rest, of all the best of the Saiva hymns then in existence."

Vide St. Sekkilar's *Periyapuranam*, Part I—Translated by J. M. Nallaswami Pillai. Meykandan Press, 1924.

(1) *Vide* "*The Tamilian Antiquary*" Vol. II, ii, pp. 1-19; Elliot, *South Indian coins*; *An. Ep. Rep.* 1912. Ins. 141; *S. I. I.*, V, p. 508, also G. O. No 919 Public dated 29th July 1912.

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of the tiger in the centre, flanked by the symbols of the subject powers, the Chera bow and the Pandyan fish with a legend, giving the name of the King; the other called by Prinsep and Elliot the Ceylon type, in which the symbols give place to a rude standing human figure clad in regal robes on the observe, and, on the reverse, the same figure seated with the legend in Devanagari characters, "Rajaraja" under the right arm. This type appears in the reign of Rajaraja I and persists for a long time after, even up to the reign of Kulottunga I. There are also other types of Rajaraja's coinage, and they are to be explained, that the King adopted the emblems of his conquered princes, as he struck coins after each victorious event.

"The accurate survey[1] and assessment of the country for purposes of Land Revenue, the perfection of the administrative organization of the country by the creation of a strong and centralised machinery corresponding to the staff of secretaries in modern administration and the posting of representative officers of the Central Government in suitable localities, the promotion of a system of audit and control by which village assemblies and other quasi-public Corporations were held to account without their initiative or autonomy being curtailed, the creation of a powerful standing army, and a considerable navy which achieved even greater success under Rajendra than under himself, mark out Rajaraja I as the greatest among the empire-builders of Southern India."

The 29th was probably the last year of Rajaraja's reign. Even then his warlike spirit does not seem to have abated, for in that year, a naval expedition was despatched for the acquisition of a large number of unspecified islands

(1) The King carried out a revenue survey and settlement, giving minute measurement of rent free and rent paying lands during this period. His inscriptions (*S. I. I.*, II, i) in Tanjore temple bear ample testimony to the accuracy of these operations. Land as small in extent as $\frac{1}{62,428,800,000}$ of a *Veli* was measured and assessed to revenue. The fact of a previous survey by him is also borne out by another inscription No. 44 of 1907 at Tiruvisalur, five miles from Kumbakonam, dated in the 24th year of Rajaraja I.

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called the Twelve Thousand Islands—possibly the Laccadives and Maldives[1] groups of islands in the Indian Ocean, and they were brought under his sway. Probably in this year, Rajaraja performed in the temple at Tiruvisalur[2] the *Tulabhara* ceremony, *i.e.*, weighing oneself against gold, pearls, or other such costly material in order to celebrate his victories. With him, Queen Lokamahadevi also performed the *Hiranya-garbha*—passing her body through a golden cow and presenting it to brahmins. From A D. 1011, Rajendra[3] became the Yuvaraja and Rajaraja's colleague in a conjoint reign in accordance with the Chola custom.

When Rajaraja died in the 29th or 30th year of his reign, his empire seems to have included the whole of the country comprised now by the Madras Presidency, the provinces of Coorg and Mysore and the northern portion of Ceylon. In all the inscriptions[4] in which

(1) 'Conquest of the Maldives'— 'The King of the Maldives assumes the style of King of the Twelve Thousand Islands "—Renandot quoting Pyrard, *Ancient Accounts*. This naval conquest of which we have no details is sufficient indication that the navy, which Rajendra used so effectively some years later, had been organised under his great father who stands in many ways in the same relation to Rajendra as Philip of Macedon to Alexander the Great—'The Colas' I, p. 220.

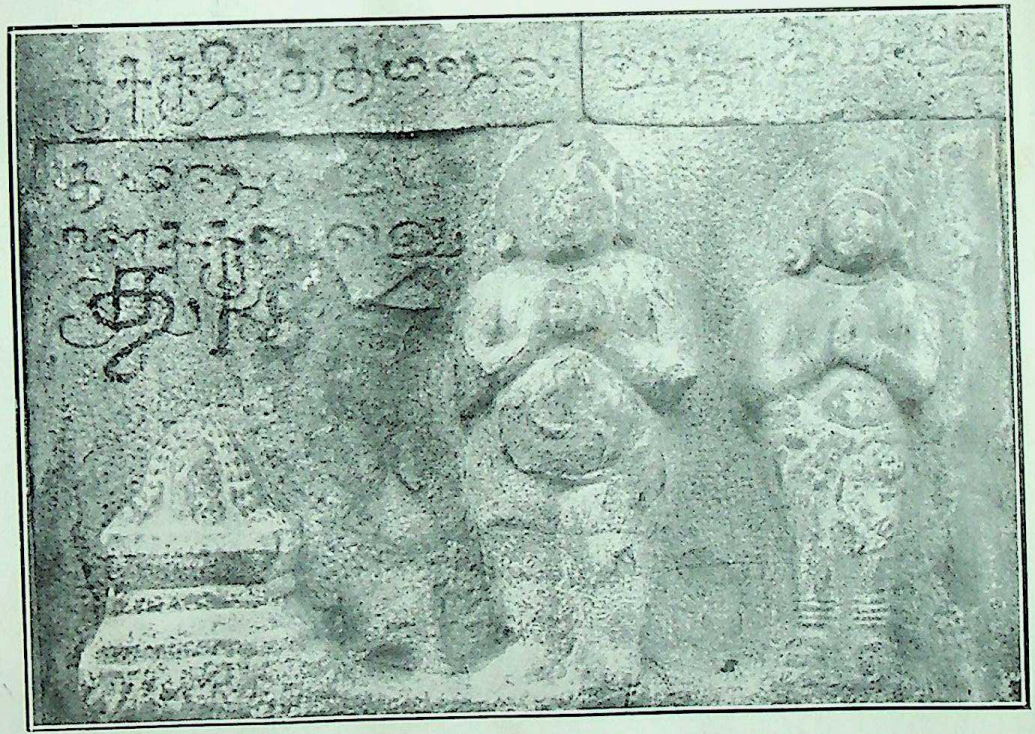
(2) 1. *An. Ep. Rep.* Ins. 42 of 1907 at Tiruvisalur in the Sri Sivayoganathasvami temple. The inscription recording this fact is engraved below a sculptured representation of the King and Queen, in a worshipping posture. (See plate from a photograph).

"There is not even a well attested statue or painting of this King that has come down to us.....I have examined the paintings round the *garbhagriha* of Tanjore temple ; it seems possible that a stalwart royal figure which recurs in many of those groups as the central figure is that of Rajaraja himself.....A sculptured representation of a King and Queen at Tiruvisalur may be of this King."—*The Colas*.

This temple has recently been renovated, and unfortunately the inscription and the sculptured representations are lost for ever as the stones have been unwittingly dressed over.

(3) *Vide An Ep. Rep.* 1915 Rajendra I's reign is calculated astronomically to begin between May 6 and July 7, A.D 1012.

(4) A typical inscription is as follows:—It commences with a Sanskrit verse "Health and Wealth! This (is) the record of the grant of Rajaraja, Raja-kesari-varman, which is honoured by the rows of diadems of all Princes. (Tamil) On the twentieth day of the twenty-sixth year (of the reign) of Ko-raja-kesari-varman *alias* Sri-Raja-raja-Deva who to make it known (to all) that the goddess of the great earth had, like the Goddess of wealth, become his consort-quelled the rebellion at Kandalur salai, and by his valiant and victorious army, conquered Vengai-Nadu, Gangai-padi, Tadikai-padi, Nulambapadi, the western Malai-Nadu, Kollam, Kalingam, and applauded by the eight directions, i. e, (all surrounding nations), Ilamandalam, and the seven and a half lakhs of Irattapadi, who deprived the Pandyas of their splendour and has



Sculptured Portrait of Rajaraja I and Queen Lokamahadevi
at Sri Sivayoganathasvami Temple, Tiruvisalur.

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his conquests are detailed, due praise is given to the faithfulness, valour, and efficiency of his army which appears to have been so well equipped and organised, that it never met any reverse in all the campaigns. Separate regiments of bodyguards, foot soldiers, and archers are named in the inscriptions, *viz.*, Royal Body Guards of the Keralantaka Gate, Royal Body Guards of the Inner Gate, Keralantaka's Chosen Troops, Jananatha's Chosen Troops, Singalantaka's Chosen Troops, Pandita Chola's Chosen Archers. The fact that Rajaraja named his regiments, after his own surnames, or the titles of his son shows the attachment which the King bore towards his army. He had an abiding interest in and love for his soldiers which is clear from the fact that he acknowledged their due share in the glory derived from his extensive conquests. Rajaraja had likewise possessed a powerful Navy, of which also he had made full use and acknowledged their faithfulness.

Rajaraja seems to have been the first King of South India who recorded a short account of his military achievements at the beginning of every one of his inscriptions, and, thus handed down to posterity some of the important events of his life. He was the first to make this innovation in his inscriptions, and this idea of Rajaraja seems entirely his own. This historical sense in the King's highly intellectual nature is further evidenced by the order which he issued to have all the grants made to the Rajarajesvara temple engraved on stone. It is to this laudable desire on the part of the Chola to leave a permanent record of the donations to the temples that we owe much of the information we now possess of the Chola history for at least three centuries

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so distinguished himself that he is worthy of worship everywhere, (he) the Udaiyar Sri Rajaraja-Deva, while seated in the eastern room in the palace of Iru-mudi-Chola having, bestowed (the usual) gifts, was pleased to command "Let all the gifts made by us, the gifts made by our elder sister, the gifts made by our queens, and the gifts made by other donors to the Lord of the sacred stone Temple erected by us at Tanjavur in the Tanjavur *kurram* in the *Pandya-kulasani vala-nadu*, be engraved on stone on the sacred central-tower.—*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, i, No 65 of 1858.

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from the time of Rajaraja, for his successors on the Chola throne followed his example, and the grants made during their reign between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries of the Christian Era were engraved on the stone walls of most of the ancient temples in *Tamilakam*. These lithic records are dated in the regnal years of the king, and in mentioning the name and titles of the king the leading events of his reign or his martial exploits are also briefly described. That this order was not a matter entirely of self-glorification is borne out by other records. For instance, an inscription of his reign [1] records an order of the king that the central shrine of the Sri Vaidyanathar temple at the place, should be rebuilt, and, that before pulling down the walls, the inscriptions engraved on them, should be copied down in a book. The stones were probably rebuilt into the temple in the same order afterwards, or, the records were subsequently re-engraved on the walls from the book.

The study of Rajaraja's inscriptions leaves the impression on one's mind that he must have been a dauntless warrior, an excellent statesman, a lover of arts and learning, and a pious devotee of Siva His earlier years were devoted to the pursuit of worldly aims, and the later to works of devotion. His, was a noble life worthily lived. Rajaraja's descendants remained for some sixty years on the Chola throne; and, they upheld the dignity, and to some extent even enlarged the boundaries of the empire created by their celebrated ancestor.

(1) *An. Ep. Rep.* No. 92 of 1895.

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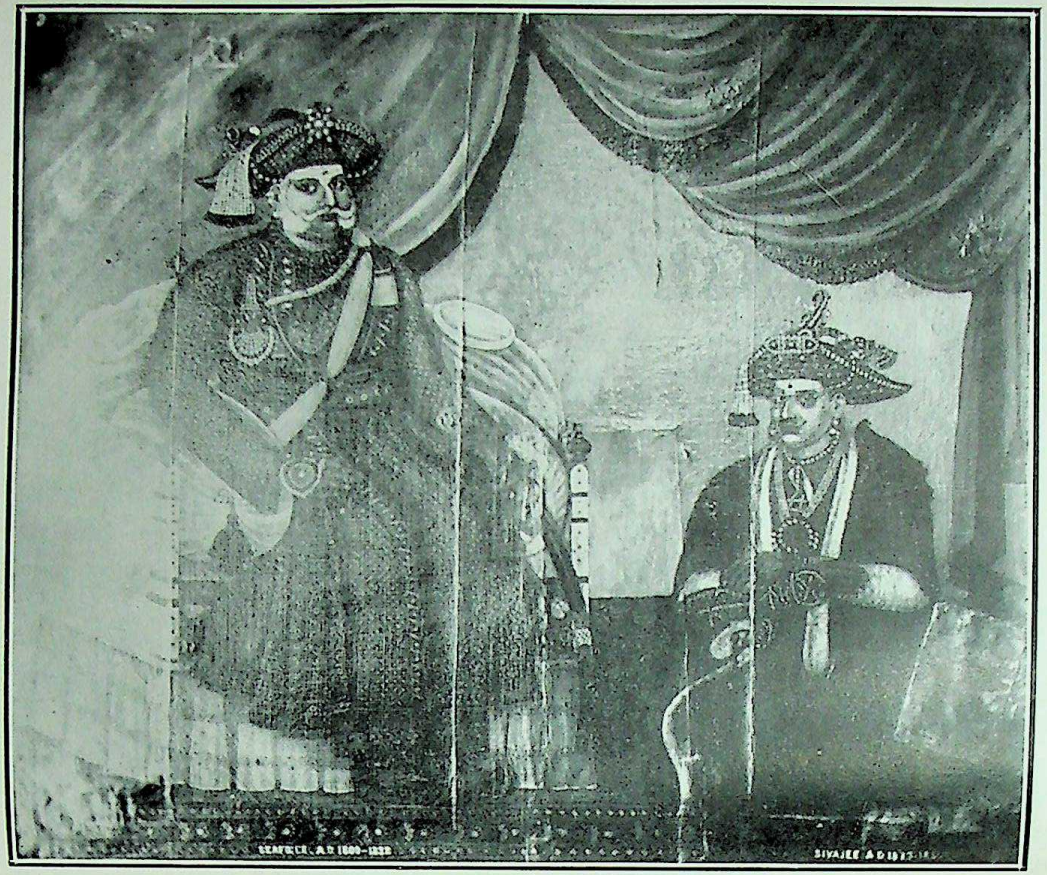

Sarfoji II and Sivaji II (from an oil painting).

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APPENDIX D.

Raja Sarafoji II and his Mahratti Inscriptions.[1]

Raja Sarafoji II[2] (A.D. 1798—1833) holds a distinct place among the Mahratta rulers of the country. His benefactions to the Great Temple have been many, and they are recorded on the walls of the temple. Called at the age of nine to the throne, by adoption,[3] to succeed Raja Tuljajee (A.D. 1764-87,) the young Sarafoji had a rough set back by an illegitimate claimant (Tuljaji's half brother, being son of Pratapsing by a sword-wife) who had won the *musnad* and kept it on for nearly eleven years. Amarsing was however deposed in A.D. 1798 as a result of the kind and courageous endeavours of Sarafoji's tutor and guardian, Rev. Schwartz of the Danish Mission who was able to satisfy the Court of Directors through a memorial presented to the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis, that the verdict of the Pandits which had previously been pronounced against the adoption was erroneous in law, and had been obtained by corrupt means. Sarafoji was again proclaimed King and placed on the throne in place of Amarsing on 28th June A. D. 1798.

"Sarafoji had the benefit of English education[4] from Rev. Schwartz, and he was a good scholar in

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(1) *Vide An. Ep. Rep.*, 1924, pp. 119-122, Ins. 415-424. Also, a Text of the Inscriptions published in 1907 by Rao Sahib T. Sambamoorthi Rao; a Tamil Ms. copy of which is in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

(2) "Maha Raja Sarabojee, I should tell you that he is a strong-built and very handsome middle-aged man, with eyes and nose like a fine hawk, and very bushy grey mustachios, generally splendidly dressed but with no effeminacy of ornament and looking and talking more like a favourable specimen of a French general officer than any other object of comparison which occurs to me."—*Heber.*

Heber on his return from a visit to Sarabojee said "I have seen many crowned heads, but not one whose deportment was more princely."—*Heber's Journal*, A selection p. 154. Humphry Milford.

(3) Adopted on 22nd January 1787 when Sir Archibald Campbell was Governor of Madras. *Hickey*, p. 83.

(4) "I have been passing the last four days in the society of a Hindoo prince, the Raja of Tanjore who quotes Fourcroy, Lauvisier, Linnaeus, and Buffon fluently, has formed a more accurate judgment of the poetical merits of Shakespeare than that so felicitously expressed by Lord Byron, and has actually emitted

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Mahratti literature as well. He had a great regard for English gentlemen and officers. As a sign of gratitude towards them he had two columns erected at Setubavachatram and Pattukotta with the inscription 'His Highness Maharaja Sarafoji of Tanjore, the friend and ally of the British Government, erected this column to commemorate the triumphs of the British arms and the downfall of Bonaparte in A. D. 1814." [1] On the death of Rev. Schwartz, the Rajah erected out of his gratitude to his old teacher a tomb to his memory in the Church near the Sivaganga tank in the small fort at Tanjore.[1] Sarafoji patronized men of learning,[2] and made an extensive collection of books chiefly English and Sanskrit, and was the first, it is said to start the Saraswati Mahal Manuscripts Library in the Palace at Tanjore. His English printing press at Tanjore in A. D. 1805 was one of the earliest presses with Devanagari type in Southern India,[3] of which he was justly proud, 'as the rarest curiosity of an Indian Court.'

Among the charitable acts done by Sarafoji the following are worthy of mention. The Rajah had a favourite mistress, before he was married, Muktamba by

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English Poetry very superior indeed to Rousseau's epitaph on Shenstone, at the same time that he is much respected by the English officers in his neighbourhood as a real good judge of a horse. and a cool, bold, and deadly shot at a tiger. The truth is that he is an extraordinary man."—*Heber's Journal* p, 153.

Of a private visit of the Bishop to the palace, " The Rajah " says Mr. Robinson " received us in his library, a noble room with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished on the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Mahratta dynasty from Shahjee and Seevajee, ten book cases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin books, and two others of Mahratta and Sanscrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of Medicine which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings, of flowers and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly, with the medicinal virtues of the plants in his *hortus siccus*."—*Hickey*, p. 115.

(1) Sewell's List of Antiquities, I, p. 283.

(2) *Vide Sarabendra Bupala Kuravanchi.* Sarafoji's Court had a number of poets and writers on Medicine. Sivakkolundu Desikar. Tiruvengadatha Pillai. Karaikurichi Velayuda Upadyayar. Venkatachalam Pillai, Subbaraya Kaviroyar are authors of various works on Medicine. Sarafoji's hobby appears to be Medicine, and a work சரபேந்திர வைத்தியம் goes by his name.

(3) Sewell's List o. Antiquities, I, p. 278.

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name, who died after giving birth to one or two children. As he was much attached to her, in compliance with her dying wish to found a charity in her name, he dug tanks on the high road to Ramesvaram, and established a splendid feeding house, and named it the Muktambal-puram-Chattram. The place is now known as Orattanad, about 14 miles south-east from Tanjore. He had also erected two sacrificial halls there,[1] wherein a number of Vedic sacrifices were performed. Another inscription[2] records that under the orders of Sarafoji II, the consecration ceremony of the goddess Brihadamba at Devakipuram in the Arni jaghir was performed.

Ten Mahratti inscriptions[3] found on the walls of the Tanjore Sri Brihadisvara Temple belong to Sarafoji II, and are of significant importance.

Ins. No. 415, on a floor of the east *prakara* of the temple, ins. No. 416 on a pillar of the north *prakara*, and ins No. 417 on another pillar in the east end of the same *prakara* dated all in Saka 1723 (A.D. 1801) record that certain portions of the verandah on the north *prakara* were repaired by Sarafoji Maharaja.

Ins. No. 419 on a stone set up at the well near the Sabhapati *mandapa* dated in Saka 1724 (A.D. 1802), states that the tank near the north prakara called *Mandukatirtha* was rebuilt in the form of a well.

Ins. No. 420 on one of the steps of the Ganapati shrine dated Saka 1723 (A.D. 1801) informs that the King rebuilt the sanctuary (*garbha-griha*) of the Ganesa shrine in the temple from the bottom to the pinnacle, and also newly built the *Ardha-mandapa* and the *Maha-mandapa*.

Ins. No. 423 on the north wall of the *mandapa* in Ganapati shrine dated also Saka 1723 gives *in extenso* the

(1) *An. Ep. Rep.*, 1911, p. 90.
(2) *An. Ep. Rep.*, 1912, Ins. 398, dated in 1806-7 A.D.
(3) *An. Ep. Rep.*, 1924, pp. 119 to 122, Ins. 415 to 424.

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various repairs made to all the shrines in the temple, the new *mandapas* constructed, and the stone pavement made in the middle of the *prakara* all round. It is also noticed that Sarafoji replaced the old Ganesa image by a new one. The replaced image (perhaps of the time of Rajaraja I) is still to be seen in a corner of the southern *prakara*.

Ins. No. 421 on the north and west base of the Ganapati shrine of Saka 1724 is an interesting record, bearing evidence to the method of settling disputes by ordeals adopted as late as A.D. 1802. We are herein informed that there had been existing a dispute for over 80 years, betwen two parties of village servants regarding the proprietary right to certain land and the royal decision was in favour of the party most influential. During the time of Sarafoji the parties appealed to the King again, and the appellant agreed to waive his claim on the *vettiyan-kani* if any one of the respondents dipped his fingers in boiling ghee in the temple and came out unscathed. This was agreed to, and one of the respondents did dip his fingers in the boiling ghee and remained unscathed. The appellant then made over the said land to the respondents as agreed.

Ins. No. 422 on the west and south walls of the shrine. Pious Hindu as he was, Raja Sarafoji as a mark of thanks-offering to the Almighty for having reinstated him on the throne presented to the temple many jewels and silver vessels in A.D. 1798, the very year in which he was again placed on the throne.

Ins. No. 424 on the south wall of the verandah of the Great Temple, "engraved in A.D. 1803, gives in chronological order, the history of the Bhonsle family, describing in detail the achievements of Shahji and his son Sivaji the Great, and continues the family history down to Sarafoji, the King of Tanjore, at whose orders this long inscription (occupying 119 royal octavo printed pages) was engraved. It contains some interesting matter which is found neither in the *History of the*

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Mahrattas by Ranade nor in the volumes of Duff. Neither of these contain any detailed history of the Mahratta Rajas of the Tanjore Principality. The geneology given in the above record carries us backwards by fifteen generations from the one given by Sewell on p. 193 of his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II." A summary of the inscription, so far as it relates to Raja Sarafoji is given below :

" Tuljajee Maharaja died issueless and had to adopt before his demise a child of the collateral line, whom he named Sarafoji. Tuljajee celebrated the adoption ceremony with great pomp, and entrusted the adopted boy into the hands of Mr. Hudleston, the then Resident at Tanjore, under the Court of Directors, and Rev. Schwartz. Thereupon all the miscreants assembled together and gave out, that in as much as Sarafoji had been adopted as heir by Tuljajee and was entrusted to the protection of the English, the interest of the latter would prevail and the natives of Tanjore would lose their means of livelihood.

" To guard against this it was suggested that Amarsing (though born of a concubine of Tuljajee and unfit to govern) was an adult and must be thrust upon the will of the dying King. Accordingly, Amarsing was taken to the King while in his last moments and it was spread that Amarsing was placed on the *gadi* by Tuljajee. Further they even went to the length of procuring the signature of the King on his death-bed to a letter regarding the continuity of the *Raj* under Amarsing. Tuljajee died in A. D. 1786. It is also said in the record that this party contrived to prevail upon the twelve pandits selected, to pronounce the adoption of Sarafoji invalid according to the *sastras*. Thus in A. D. 1787 Amarsing was crowned Rajah with the sanction of the Madras and Bengal Governments. But Rev. Schwartz espoused the cause of Sarafoji, and informed the Court of Directors of the East India Company of all that had transpired. He was thereupon directed to guard the person of Sarafoji from any possible danger. Sarafoji was declared after a

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lapse of eleven years, the rightful successor of Tuljajee by the Court of Directors who during this period carefully went into the question. Sarafoji was again placed on the throne in place of Amarsing in A. D. 1798.

"It is possible that Sarafoji, by having this long historical inscription, engraved on the temple walls, wanted to give publicity to the legality of his adoption by Tuljajee Raja."[1]

During his reign of thirty-five years, Raja Sarafoji proved to be one of the best rulers of the country, and "over his death was the mourning of a nation. He died, and Tanjore was as Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not. It was like the mourning that once had happened in the memorable land of Goshen, when a great man, a Patriarch, had passed away! With Sarafoji drooped the glory of Tanjore, and after him it departed."[2]

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(1) *An. Ep. Rep.*, 1924 pp. 419-422.

(2) Vide Hickey—*The Tanjore Mahratta Principality*, p. 121.

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APPENDIX E.

Notes on a few Tanjore Temple Inscriptions of Rajaraja I.

No. 69 of 1888 (*Tamil and Grantha*).—On the south wall of the *Garbhagriha*, second tier. A record in the twenty-ninth year of Ko-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Rajarajadeva I, specifies the revenue in paddy, in gold and in money which a number of villages had to pay to the temple. These had been assigned by the king till the twenty-ninth year of his reign. The inscription is of value for the construction of the fiscal history of the land. Details of the taxes on animals, trees, tanks, etc., are given on the first tier. The second tier gives details of the fiscal terms, the currency, weights, measures, prices, rates of interest, etc. The third tier relates that in Ceylon (Ilam) villages were required to remit the revenue in paddy, money and *illuppaipal* (Bassia Longifolia)—இலுப்பை எண்ணை, showing the king's solicitude to provide the requirements of the temple.

One single village in Ceylon sent 3164 *kalams*, 2 *tunis* and 2 *nalis* of paddy per annum by the Adavallan measure. The third tier inscription gives also a description of the jewels and ornaments Rajaraja presented to the Deity not only from his treasury, but from the booty obtained in his conquest of the Pandyas. Such are for instance necklaces, armlets, bracelets, rings, gold-plated sandals set with jewels, rings set with nine gems (diamond, sapphire, pearl, topaz, cinnamon, stone, coral, emerald, lapiz lazulli and ruby). Mention of ornaments like *Sonakachchidukkankudu* shows the reminiscence of Greek, Roman and Arabian influence and presents by devotees of other nationalities also.

No. 37 of 1888 records Rajaraja's deposit of 360 *kasus* with four bazaars at Tanjore for paying out interest, one hundred and fifty plantains daily (54,000 in the year). The cost of the plantain is one kasu for 1,200. So

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the total cost would be forty-five kasus, which is the usual interest on three hundred and sixty kasus.

No. 38 of 1888 describes the setting up of seven images, among which were those of Jnanasambandha, Appar and Sundaramurti.

No. 79 of 1888 (*Tamil and Grantha.*)—Inside Gopura, right of entrance. A record in the twenty-ninth year of Ko-Rajakesarivarmam *alias* Rajarajadeva I. Records two deposits of money by Adittan Suryan Tennavan Muvendavelan, the *srikarya* of the Rajarajesvara temple, with the people of a village, the interest of which, paid in paddy in the first case and in money in the second, was to be devoted to certain needs.[1]

No. 103 of 1888 (*Tamil and Grantha*).—Inside prakara, west, tenth pillar. A record in the tenth year of Udaiyar Rajarajadeva, saying that his queen Abhimanavalli set up the image of Siva, Brahma and Vishnu as a boar to illustrate the *Arunachala-mahatmya*.

No. 107 of 1888 (Tamil and Grantha) Inside Prakara west, fifth niche and fourteenth pillar. A record in the twenty-ninth year of Rajaraja Deva I that Queen Trailokya Mahadevi set up the images of Kalyanasundara, Uma, Vishnu, Brahma, etc., and presented ornaments to the first two.

No. 111 of 1888 (*Tamil and Grantha,*)—Inside prakara, first niche, fourth and fifth pillars and second niche of the north enclosure. A record in the twenty-ninth year of Udaiyar Rajarajadeva I, saying that the queen Panchavan Mahadevi set up the images of Tanjayalagar, Uma, and Ganapati and presented ornaments. The inscription has been edited in *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, ii, No. 51, pp. 203-17. This is an elaborate document on the jewellery of the age.

No. 20 of 1897 (Tamil) on the outside of the north enclosure of the temple records gifts in the shape of

(1) *S. I. I., Vol.* II, No. 26, pp. 126-31.

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money, she-buffaloes, cows and ewes by the King's officers, and other individuals, and groups of men for burning lamps in the temple.

No. 21 of 1897 (Tamil) on the same wall, records gifts of cattle to various shepherds by Rajarajadeva for the supply of ghee for lamps to the Rajarajesvara temple, at one *ulakku* of ghee per day for one sacred lamp, by the Adavallan (Measure).

No. 30 of 1897 (Tamil).—On a pillar of the west enclosure of the same temple. A record in the twenty-ninth year of the Chola King Ko-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Rajarajadeva I. Records the setting up of seven copper images of the God Ganapati by king Rajarajadeva, *viz.*, two in the dancing posture, one big and the other small, three of varying heights comfortably seated, and two in the standing posture.[1]

No. 37 of 1897(Tamil).—On the south wall of the same *mandapa*. A record in the twenty-ninth year of the Chola king Ko-Rajakesarivarman *alias* Rajarajadeva. Records the assignment to the Tanjore temple of certain villages in Tondainadu, Pandinadu, Gangapadi, Nulambapadi, Malainadu and Ilam (Ceylon).[2]

Nos. 59 and 60 of S. I. I. Vol. II ii, on the east, north and west walls of the Chandesvara shrine, situated opposite to the north entrance of the central temple. No. 59 describes one diadem and nine girdles for the use of the image of Rajarajesvara, the chief idol of the temple. These ornaments were made partly of gold and jewels from the temple treasury *Tanjai Vitankan*, and partly of pearls, which king Rajarajadeva had presented to the temple before the 29th year of his reign. A number of corals, which formed part of the ornaments, were purchased by the temple treasurers for gold, which the king had seized after conquering the Chera king and the Pandyas in Malainadu.

(1) *S. I. I. Vol.* II, *No.* 84, pp. 405-7.
(2) *S. I. I. Vol.* II, No. 92, pp. 424-28.

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APPENDIX F.

I

கருவூர்த் தேவர் திருவிசைப்பா.

தஞ்சை இராசராசேச்சரம்.

பண் - பஞ்சமம்.

திருச்சிற்றம்பலம்.

உலகெலாந் தொழவந் தெழுகதிர்ப் பரிதி
ஒன்று நூருயிர கோடி
அலகெலாம் பொதிந்த திருவுடம் பச்சோ
அங்ஙனே அழகிதோ வரணம்
பலகுலாம் படை செய் நெடுநிலை மாடம்
பருவரை ஞாங்கர் வெண்திங்கள்
இலகுலாம் பதணத் திஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (1)

பொருள் :—காவல்கள் பல நெருங்கி (அமைந்து), பல விதமான படைகள் அமைக்கப்பட்ட நீண்ட நிலைகளையுடைய பெரிய மலைபோலும் மிக உயர்ந்த மாடங்களின் பக்கங்களில் வெள்ளிய சந்திரன் தவழப் பெற்றிருப்பதும், தழைகள் விரவப்பெற்ற மதிலுள் மேடை (பதணம்) களையுடைய மதில் சூழ்ந்த தஞ்சை இராசரா சேச்சரத்து வீற்றிருக்கும் இவருக்கு, உலகத்தவர்கள் வணங்கும்படியாக வந்து எழுகின்ற கிரணங் களையுடைய சூரியன் பல ஆயிர கோடி சேர்ந்தாற் போன்றிருக்கும் திரு வுருவம் (அவ்வளவு ஒளியுடையது எம்பெருமான் திருமேனி என்பது கருத்து) எவ்வளவு அழகுள்ளதாயிருக்கிறது !

நெற்றியிற் கண்ணென் கண்ணின்னின் றகலா
நெஞ்சினில் அஞ்சிலம் பலைக்கும்
பொற்றிரு வடியென் குடி முழுதாளப்
புகுந்தன போந்தன இல்லை
மற்றெனக் குறவென் மறிதிரை வடவாற்
றிடுபுனல் மதகில்வாழ் முதலை
எற்றுநீர்க் கிடங்கில் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராச ராசேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (2)

பொருள் :—மடங்கி விழுகின்ற அலைகளையுடைய வடவாற்றின் நீர் செல்லும்படியான மதகில் வாழும் முதலைகள் மோதும் நீர் நிறைந்த அகழ் சூழ்ந்த மதில்கள் சுற்றி இருக்கும் தஞ்சை இராச ராசேச்சரத்து வீற்றிருக் கும் இவருடைய நெற்றிக் கண்கள் என் கண்களை விட்டு அகலவில்லை. ஒலி வீசுகின்ற சிலம்புகள் ஒலிக்கும் பொன் போலும் அழகிய இவர் பாதங்கள், என்னுடைய குடி முழுவதையும் ஆட்கொள்ள என்னெஞ்சி னுள் புகுந்தன. புகுந்த அவைகள் திரும்பவே யில்லை. (அதாவது

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எப்பொழுதும் நினைத்துக்கொண்டிருத்தல் பற்றி) ஆதலின் எனக்கு வேறு இவரைத் தவிர உறவினர் எதற்கு ?

சடைகெழு மகுடம் தண்ணிலா விரிய
வெண்ணிலா விரிதரு தரளக்
குடைநிழல் விடைமேற் கொண்டுலாப் போதுங்
குறிப்பெ(ன்)னே கோங்கிணர் அனைய
சூடைகெழு நிருபர் முடியொடு முடிதேய்ந்
தூக்கசெஞ் சுடர்ப்படு குவையோங்
கிடைகெழு மாடத் திஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (3)

பொருள் :—கொத்துக் கொத்தாக இருக்கும் கோங்கு மலர்கள் போலும் குடைகளையுடைய அரசர்களின் முடிகள் ஒரு முடியோடு ஒரு முடி மோதுதலால் செவ்விய ஒளியினையுடைய மணிகள் சிந்தி குவிந்து ஓங்கியிருக்கும் இடங்களையுடைய மாடங்கள் நிறைந்ததும், மதில் சூழ்ந் திருக்கப் பெற்றதுமாகிய தஞ்சை இராச ராசேச்சரத்து வீற்றிருக்கும் இவர், தன்னுடைய சடையிற் பொருந்திய மகுடத்தோடு, குளிர்ந்த பிறைச் சந்திரனும் ஒளியை வீச, ஒளி பரப்பும் முத்துக்கள் பதிக்கப் பெற்ற குடை நிழலில், இடபத்தின் மேல் ஏறிக்கொண்டு திருவுலா வரும்படியான குறிப்பு என்ன காரணம் பற்றியோ !

வாழியம் போதத் தருகுபாய் விடயம்
வரிசையின் விளக்கலின் அடித்த
சூழலம் பளிங்கின் பாசல ராதிச்
சுடர்விடு மண்டலம் பொலியக்
காழகில் கமழும் மானிகை மகளீர்
கங்குல்வா யங்குலி கெழும
யாழொலி கிலம்பும் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (4)

[பொருள் இடந்தரவில்லை.]

எவரும்மா மறைக ளெவையும்வா னவர்கள்
ஈட்டமுந் தாள்திருக் கமலத்
தவரும்மா லவனும் அறிவரும் பெருமை
அடலழல் உமிழ்தழற் பிழம்பர்
உவரிமா கடலினெலிசெய் மாமறுகில்
உறுகளிற் றரசின தீட்டம்
இவருமால் வரைசெய் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (5)

பொருள் :—உவர்ப்பினையுடைய பெரிய கடலின் முழக்குப்போலும் ஒலியினையுடைய பெருமை பொருந்திய வீதிகளில், அரசனின் யானைக் கூட்டங்கள் சஞ்சரிக்கும்படியானதும், பெரிய மலைபோலும் மதில்கள் சூழ்ந்த தஞ்சை இராச ராசேச்சரத்தமர்ந்த இவர், உலகிலுள்ள எல்லோரும்,

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எல்லா வேதங்களும், தேவர்களின் கூட்டமும், அன்றலர்ந்த தாமரைப் பூவில் வீற்றிருக்கும் பிரமனும், விட்டுணுவும் அறிந்துகொள்ள முடியாத பெருமை வாய்ந்த, வன்மைமிக்க வெம்மை வீசுகின்ற நெருப்பு உருவானவர்.

அருளுமா றருளி ஆளுமா ரூள
அடிகள்தம் அழகிய விழியுங்
குருளும்வார் காதுங் காட்டியான்பெற்ற
குயிலினை மயல்செய்வ தழகோ
தரளவான் குன்றில் தண்நிலா ஒளியுந்
தருகுவால் பெருகுவான் தெருவில்
இருளெலாங் கிழியும் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (6)

பொருள் :—முத்துக்களால் நிறைந்த பெரிய மலையைப்போல குளிர்ந்த நிலவு ஒளியைத் தருகின்ற முத்துக்களின் குவியல்கள் பெருகியிருக்கின்றமையால், தெருக்களில் இருள் நீங்கி இருக்கும்படியானதும், மதில் சூழ்ந்ததுமான தஞ்சை இராச ராசேச்சரத்தமர்ந்த எம்பெருமான் அருள் செய்யும் விதம் அருள் செய்ய, ஆட்கொள்ளும் விதம் ஆட்கொள்ள வேண்டி, அவர் தம்முடைய அழகிய விழிகளையும், மயிர்ச்சுருள்களையும், காதையும், காண்பித்து, யான் பெற்ற குயில்போலும் மொழியினையுடைய பெண்ணை மயக்கஞ் செய்வது அழகாகுமோ !

தனிப்பெருந் தாமே முழுதுறப் பிறப்பின்
தளிரிறப்பிலை உதிர் வென்ரூல்
நினைப்பருந் தம்பாற் சேறலின் றேனும்
நெஞ்சிடித் துருகுவ தென்னை,
சுனைப்பெருங் கலங்கற் பொய்கையங் கழுநீர்ச்
சூழன்மா ளிகைசுடர் வீசும்
எனைப்பெரு மணஞ்செய் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (7)

[பொருள் இடந்தரவில்லை.]

பன்னெடுங் காலம் பணிசெய்து பழையோர்
தாம்பலர் ஏம்பலித்திருக்க
என்னெடுங் கோயில் நெஞ்சுவீற்றிருந்த
எளிமையை என்றும் நான் மறக்கேன்,
மின்னெடும் புருவத் திளமயி லனையார்
விலங்கல்செய் நாடகசாலை
இன்நடம் பயிலும் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (8)

பொருள் :—மின்னல்போலும் ஒளிவீசுகின்ற நீண்ட புருவத்தினையுடைய இளமயிலைப்போன்ற பெண்கள், பெரிய நாடகசாலைகளில் இனிய நடனம் செய்யும்படியானதும், மதில்கள் சூழப்பெற்றிருப்பதுமாகிய தஞ்சை இராச ராசேச்சரத்தில் அமர்ந்த இவர், நெடுங்காலமாகத் தங்களால்

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இயன்ற தொண்டுகளைச் செய்து முன்னோர்கள் பலர் எம்பெருமான் அருள் கிடைக்கப்பெறாது ஏமாறிக்கொண்டிருக்க, என்னுடைய பெரிய கோயிலா கிய நெஞ்சில் வந்து தங்கியிருக்கும் எம்பெருமானின் எளிமைத் தன்மையை யான் எப்பொழுதும் மறக்கவேமாட்டேன்.

மங்குல்சூழ் போதின் ஒழிவற நிறைந்து
வஞ்சகர் நெஞ்சகத் தொளிப்பார்
அங்கழல் சூடாம் அவர்க்கிள வேனல்
அலர்கதிர் அனையவா ழியரோ
பொங்கெழில் திருநீ றழிபொசி வனப்பில்
புனல்துளும் பவிர்சடை மொழுப்பர்
எங்களுக் கினியர் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (9)

பொருள் :—மிகுந்த அழகினையுடைய திருநீறு அழிந்து காணப்படு கின்ற அழகிய திருவுடம்பையும், கங்கை நதி ஆரவாரித்து விளங்குகின்ற சடை முடியை உடையவரும், எங்களுக்கு இனிமையானவரும், மதில்கள் சூழ்ந்த தஞ்சை இராசராசேச்சரத்து அமர்ந்தவரும், வஞ்சகர் களுடைய நெஞ்சகத்து ஒளிப்பவரும், அழற்சுடர் ஆனவரும் ஆகிய எம்பெருமானே என்னெஞ்சம், துன்பம் வந்த காலத்திலும், மற்றும் எக் காலத்திலும் நீக்கமற நினைந்து, இளவேனிற்காலத்து அலரும் சூரியன் போல பிரகாசத்துடன் வாழக் கடவதாக !

தனியரெத் தனையொ ராயிர வருமாம்
தன்மையர் என் வயத்தினராம்
கனியரத் தருநீங் கரும்பர் வெண் புரிநூற்
கட்டியர் அட்ட ஆர் அமிர்தர்
புனிதர்பொற் கழலர் புரிசடா மகுடர்
புண்ணியர் பொய்யிலா மெய்யர்க்
கினியரெத் தனையும் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவர்க்கே. (10)

பொருள் :—அனேக மதில்கள் சூழ்ந்த தஞ்சை இராசராசேசரத்து வீற்றிருக்கும் இவர் தனிமையானவர். எவ்வளவு ஆயிரம் பேர்களினுடைய தன்மையையும் உடையவர் ! என்னிடத்து கனிந்த அன்பினையுடையார். இனிய தித்திப்பான கரும்பு போல்பவர். வெள்ளிய முப்புரி நூலையுடை யவர். கடைந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட அரிய அமிர்தம் போல்பவர். தூய்மை யானவர். பொன் மயமான வீரகண்டையைத் தரித்தவர். முறுக்கடங்கின சடையினையும், மகுடத்தினையும் உடையவர். புண்ணியர். பொய் பேசாத உண்மை உடையவர்களுக்கே இனியராவார்.

சரளமந் தார சண்பக வகுள
சந்தன நந்தன வனத்தின்
இருள்விரி மொழுப்பின் இஞ்சிசூழ் தஞ்சை
இராசரா சேச்சரத் திவரை

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அருமருந் தருந்தி அல்லல் தீர் கருவூர்
அறைந்த சொல் மாலை ஈரைந்தின்
பொருள்மருந் துடையோர் சிவபதமென்னும்
பொன்னெடுங் குன்றுடையோரே. (11)

பொருள் :—தேவதாரு, மந்தாரம், சண்பகம், வகுளம் (மருதமரம்), சந்தனம் இவைகள் நிறைந்த நந்தவனத்தின் இருள் பரவியிருக்கிற உச்சியினையுடைய மதில்கள் சூழ்ந்த தஞ்சை இராசராசேச் சரத்து அமர்ந்த இவரிடத்து, மனத்தைச் செலுத்துதலாகிய அரியமருந்தை அருந்தி, தன்பம் நீங்கப்பெற்ற கருவூரன் சொல்லிய இப்பாட்டுக்கள் பத்தின் பொருளையறிந்து தெளிதலாகிய ஓர் அரியமருந்தை உடையோர், சிவ பெருமான் பதவி என்னும் பொன் மயமான நீண்ட குன்றினை ஏறி அதனைத் தனக்கு இருப்பிடமாகக் கொண்டவர்களாவார்கள். (அதாவது சிவபதத்தை அடைந்து சிவபெருமான் கிருபையைப் பெறுவர் என்பது கருத்து)

திருச்சிற்றம்பலம்.

II

அருணகிரியார் திருப்புகழ்.

"தஞ்சைமாநகர் ராஜகோபுரத்தமர்ந்த பெருமாள்."

தஞ்சை.

தந்தன தானன தனதான தந்தன தானன தனதான.

அஞ்சன வேல்விழி மடமாதர் அங்கவர் மாயையில் அலைவேனே
விஞ்சுறு மாவுன தடிசேர விம்பம தாயருள் அருளாயோ
நஞ்சமு தாவுணும் அரனர்த்தம் நன்கும ராவுமை அருள்பாலா
தஞ்சென வாமடி யவர்வாழத் தஞ்சையில் மேவிய பெருமாளே. (1)

பொருள் :—ஆலகால விடத்தை அமுதாக உட்கொண்ட சிவபெருமான் புதல்வா! உமாதேவியாரால் அருளப்பட்ட பாலனே! தம்மைச் சரணடைந்தவர்கள் வாழத் தஞ்சையில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் தலைவனே! யான், மைதீட்டப் பெற்றனவும், வேல் போன்றனவுமாகிய (வேல் வருத்துமாறு போல கண்ணும் வருத்தும்) கண்களையுடைய மாதரின் மோகத்தில் முழுகித் திரிவேனே! யான் மேன்மையடையும்படி உன்னுடைய அடிகளைச் சேர அருள்புரிய மாட்டாயா?

தந்த தானனத் தந்த தானனத்
தந்த தானனத் தனதான.

அம்பு ராசியிற் கெண்டை சேலொழித்
தஞ்ச வேமணிக் குழைவீசும்

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அங்க ணூரிடத் தின்ப சாகரத்
தங்கி மூழ்குமிச் சையினூலே
எம்பி ரானுனைச் சிந்தியா தொழித்
திந்த்ர சாலவிப் ப்ரமைதீர
இங்கு வாவெனப் பண்பி னூலழைத்
தெங்கு மானமெய்ப் பொருள்தாராய்
கொம்பு போலிடைத் தொண்டை போலிதழ்க்
கொண்டல் போல் குழற் கனமேருக்
குன்று போல்முகைப் பைங்கி ராதியைக்
கொண்ட கோலசற் குணவேலா
சம்ப ராரியைக் கொன்ற தீவிழிச்
சம்பு போதகக் குருநாதா
சண்ட கோபுரச் செம்பொன் மாளிகைத்
தஞ்சை மாநகர்ப் பெருமாளே. (2)

பொருள்:—பூங்கொம்பு போலும் இடையையும், கொவ்வைக்கனி போன்ற உதடுகளையும், மேகம் போலும் கூந்தலினையும், மேருக்குன்று போன்ற தனங்களையு முடையவளாகிய, குறக்குலம் புகுந்த வள்ளியைத் தேவியாகக் கொண்ட, நற்குணங்களையுடைய வேலா! சம்பரன் என்பானைக் கொன்றவனுகிய மன்மதனை எரித்து அழித்ததாகிய நெருப்புக் கண்ணையுடைய சிவனுக்கு ஞானத்தை ஊட்டிய ஆசாரியனே! மிகப் பெரிய கோபுரங்களும், செம்பொன்னுலாகிய மாளிகைகளையுமுடைய தஞ்சைமா நகரில் எழுந்தருளியிருக்கும் உயர்ச்சி பொருந்தியவனே! கடலில் உள்ள கெண்டை சேல் முதலியவைகளை வென்று காதிற் குண்டலம் வரையில் நீண்ட அழகிய கண்களையுடைய பெண்களின் இன்பக் கடலாகிய நெருப்பிலே அழுந்தி மீளமுடியாது தவிக்கின்ற இச்சையினூலே எம்பிரானுகிய உன்னை நினையாமல் ஒழித்த இந்திர சாலம் போன்ற இந்த மயக்கந்தீர இங்கு வாவென்று உன் உயர்ந்த குணத்தினுல் அழைத்து, எனக்கு மெய்யறிவைக் கொடுத்து அருள் புரிவாய்!

தந்தன தனதான தானதத்த தந்த
தந்தன தனதான தானதத்த தந்த
தந்தன தனதான தானதத்த தந்த தனதான.

கந்தவார் குழல்கோதி மாலையைப்பு னைந்து
மஞ்சளா லழகாக மேனியிற்றி மிர்ந்து
கண்டமா லைகளான ஆணிமுத்த ணிந்து தெருவூடே
கண்டபே ரையெலாம வாயினிற்கொ ணர்ந்து
வண்பயோ தரபார மேருவைத்தி றந்து
கண்களா கியசூர வேலவிட்டெ றிந்து வீலை கூறி
வந்தபேர் களேயேகை யாலெடுத்த ணைந்து
கொண்டுதே னிதழூறு வாயைவைத்த ருந்தி
மந்தமா ருதம்வீசு பாயலிற்பு ணர்ந்து மயல் பூணு

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மங்கைமா ரதுபோக தீவினைப்ப வங்கள்
மங்கியே கிடுமாறு ஞானவித்தை தந்து
வண்டுலா வியநீப மாலைசற்றி லங்க வருவாயே
இந்த்ரதா ருவைஞால மீதினிற்கொ ணர்ந்த
சங்கபா ணியஞ்சி கேசவப்ர சங்க
னென்றுவாழ் மணிமார்பன் வீரவிக்ரமன்றன் மருகோனே
எண்டிசா முகவேலை ஞாலமுற்று மண்டு
கந்ததா ருகசேனை நீறுபட்டொ துங்க
வென்றுபே ரொளிசேர்ப்ர காசம்விட்டி லங்கு கதிர்வேலா
சந்த்ரசே கரிநாக பூஷணத்தி யண்ட
முண்டநா ரணியால போஜனத்தி யம்பை
தந்தபூ ரணஞான வேள்குறத்தி தஞ்சு மணிமார்பா
சண்டநீ லகலாப வாகியிற் றிகழ்ந்து
கஞ்சன்வா சவன்மேவி வாழ்பதிக்கு யர்ந்த
தஞ்சைமா நகர்ராஜ கோபுரத்தமர்ந்த பெருமாளே. (3)

பொருள் :— கற்பக விருக்ஷத்தைப் பூமியிற் கொணர்ந்தவனும், பாஞ்ச சன்யம் என்ற சங்கை உடையவனும், எல்லாப் பொருள்கட்கும் ஆதியாகிய கேசவனும் என்று உலகோர் புகழ வாழும்படியான, 'கவுத்துபம்' என்ற மணியை மார்பில் அணிந்தவனுகிய, திருவிக்ரமாவதாரம் எடுத்த திருமாலின் மருகனே! எட்டுத் திசை, பூமி இவைகள் முற்றும் நிரம்பப் பெற்ற பலம் பொருந்திய அசுரசேனை சாம்பற் பொடிபோல் அழிய, வென்று, மிக்க ஒளி வீசும்படியான திருமேனியை உடைய வேலனே!

சந்திரனைத் தரித்தவளும், நாகங்களை ஆபரணமாகப் பூண்டவளும், உலகத்தை உண்ட நாரணி என்ற பெயரை உடையவளும், ஆலகால விடத்தை உண்டவளும், உலகத்திற் கெல்லாம் தாயுமாகிய உமாதேவியார் பெற்ற ஞான மிக்கவனே! குறத்தியாகிய வள்ளியம்மையார் உறங்கும் அழகிய மார்பை உடையவனே! பலமிக்க நீலமயிலாகிய வாகனத்தில் விளங்கி, பிரமனும், திருமாலும், அவ்வவர் வாழ்கின்ற பதிகள் எல்லாவற்றினுக்கும் மேன்மை பொருந்தியிருக்கும்படியான தஞ்சைமா நகரின் சிறந்த கோயிலுள் அமர்ந்திருக்கும் தலைமையுடைய முருகனே! வாசனை மிக்க கூந்தலைக் கோதி, மாலை தரித்து, மஞ்சளால் மேனியில் அழகு செய்து கொண்டு, கழுத்தில் நல்ல உயர்ந்த ஆணி முத்துகள் பொருந்திய மாலைகளை அணிந்து, தெருவின் நடுவே கண்டபேர்களை யெல்லாம் அவர்கள்மேல் அன்புள்ளவள் போல அழைத்து வந்து, தனங்களாகிய மேருவைத் திறந்து, கண்களாகிய கூரிய வேலை விட்டெறிந்து, வினையைக் கூறி, வந்தவர்களை யெல்லாம் கையினுல் எடுத்து அணைத்துக் கொண்டு தேனூறும் உதடுகளையுடைய வாயை வைத்து உண்டு, மந்தமாருதம் வீசும்படியான படுக்கையிற் புணர்ந்து, மயக்கம் செய்யும் மங்கையரின் அனுபோகமாகிய தீவினைகள் ஒளி மழுங்கிக் கெடுமாறு எனக்கு அறிவைப் புகட்டி, வண்டுகள் உலாவும் கடம்பு மாலை விளங்க வந்து அருள் புரியாய்[1]!

(1) Prose renderings by a young scholar Mr. C. Valmikanathan, Annamalai University.

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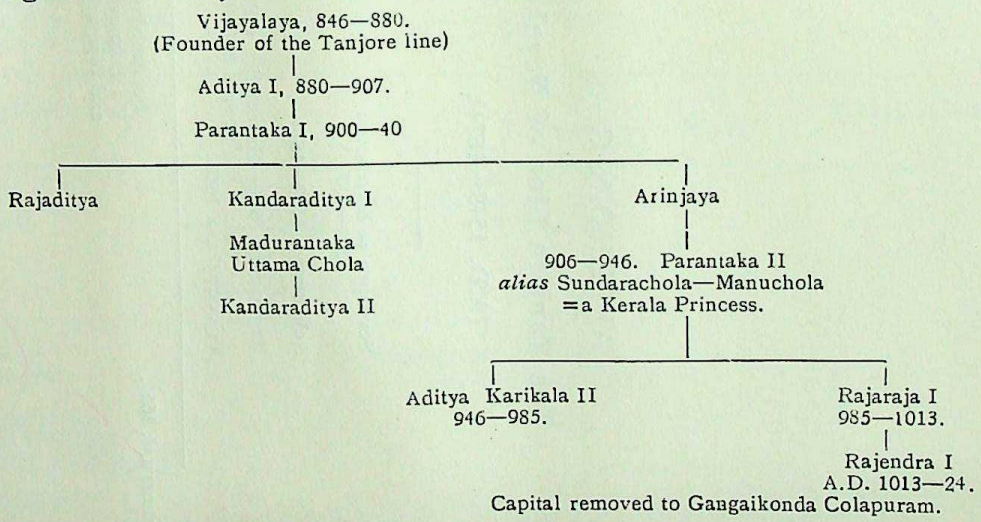
APPENDIX G—1.

Geneological Tables of the Later Cholas, The Nayaks, and the Mahratta Rulers of Tanjore.

Geneological Table of the Later Cholas (A.D. 846—1024).



'Virasekhara—the last of the line of Cholas, either fell in battle with Nagama Nayak, or was subsequently put to death, and, his issue if he had any, probably shared the same fate, for nothing more is heard of the Chola race'.

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APPENDIX G—2.

The Tanjore Line of Nayaks.

(A.D. 1549—1674).

Sevvappa = Murtiamma.
1549—1572

Achyutappa 1572—1614

Raghunatha 1614—The conflict with the Mussalman powers of Golkonda and Bijapur.

Vijayaraghava 1662

Mannaru *d.* 1662.

Sengamaladas—(Prince)
Infancy 1662—1674
and Bijapur's interference.

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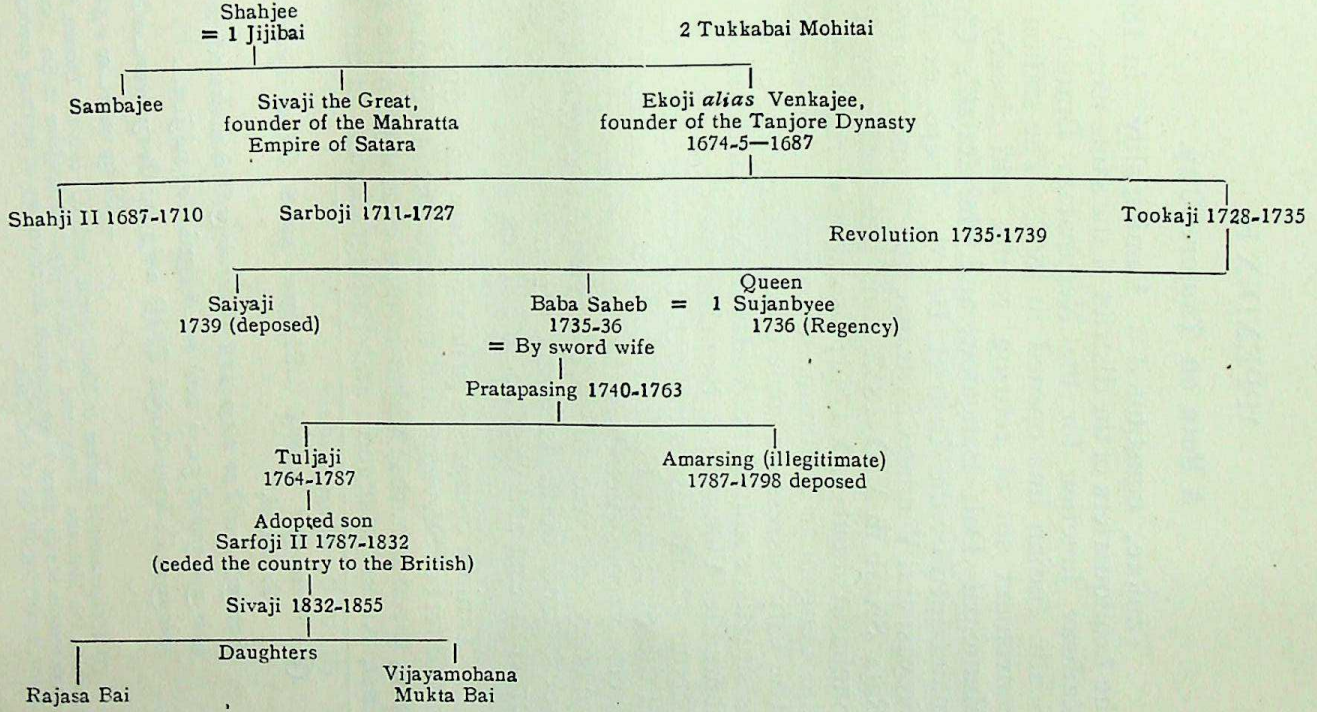
APPENDIX G—3.

The Tanjore Line of Mahrattas. (A. D. 1674-1855.)



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APPENDIX H.

A Note on Tanjore City.

Tanjore, constituted a Municipality [1] in 1866, is the headquarters of the district of the same name. It is a Railway Junction for the Negapatam Branch of the South Indian line opened in 1861. The station has a convenient set of retiring rooms, and closeby is the Municipal Dak Bangalow, and, the Rajah's Chattram maintained by the District Board. There are also the Sreyasi and Vennar Chattrams, the former founded by Raja Sivaji in A. D 1837, and the latter by Pratapa Simha in about A.D. 1749; also another rest house called the Tengondar Chattram, adjacent to the railway station. The City possesses a fairly cool and equable climate, and is situated south of the Vadavar river, and a mile further flows the Vennar [2], a branch of the Cauvery. The new Mettur Canal passes through the city washing the walls of the Sivaganga Fort on the west. A number of ghats recently constructed on the canal provide a much desired amenity of civic life. The greatest length of the city south and north is about 4½ miles and its greatest breadth east and west about 3 miles.

Tanjore comprises primarily two main divisions, the small fort of Sevvappa and the large fort of Vijayaraghava, and, three suburbs, Mahar-nombu-chavady[3] in the south-east, Karuntattangudi and Palliagraharam in the north,

(1) 1931 Census figure, 66,852.

(2) "கண்ணுர் உலகிற் பகீரதனுங் கண்டு கொணர்ந்தான் கங்கை யென்பார்,
விண்ணுறு எளிதோ வாறு தந்த வேளாண் குரிசில் விண்ணன் அன்றே,
தண்ணுர் முள்ளி ஓடம் வரச் சம்பந்தனும் செந்தமிழ்பாட,
மண்ணுள் செல்வம் பெருங் கீர்த்தி வகித்தார் சோழ மண்டலமே"

—சோழ மண்டல சதகம் 90

(3) *Mahar-nombu* means in Tamil great festival. It is the Dasara festival, at which the Mahratta Rajas used at the *Vijaya Mantapam* in Sri Tyagaraja-svami temple at this place to go through the ceremony of shooting arrows at an *asura*, signifying the foe of the Gods.

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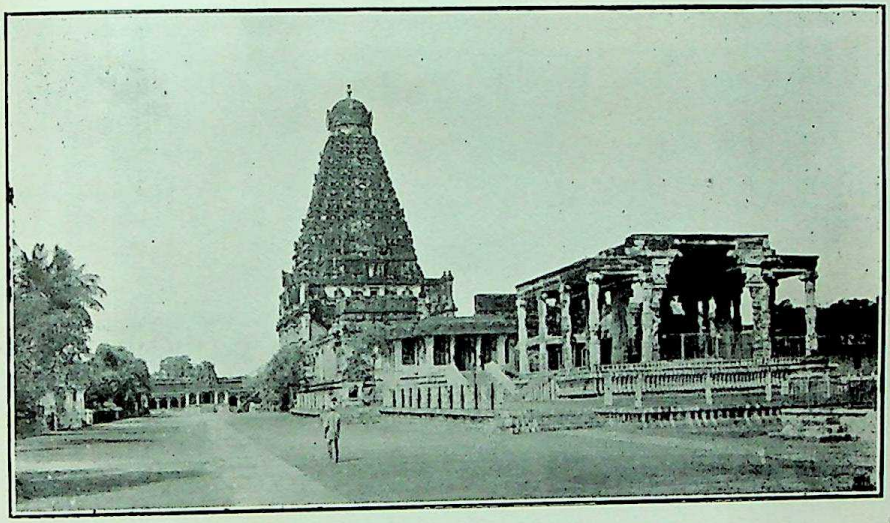

A view of the Inner Quadrangle of the Great Temple.

(By Courtesy of Dr. A. J. Pandian.)

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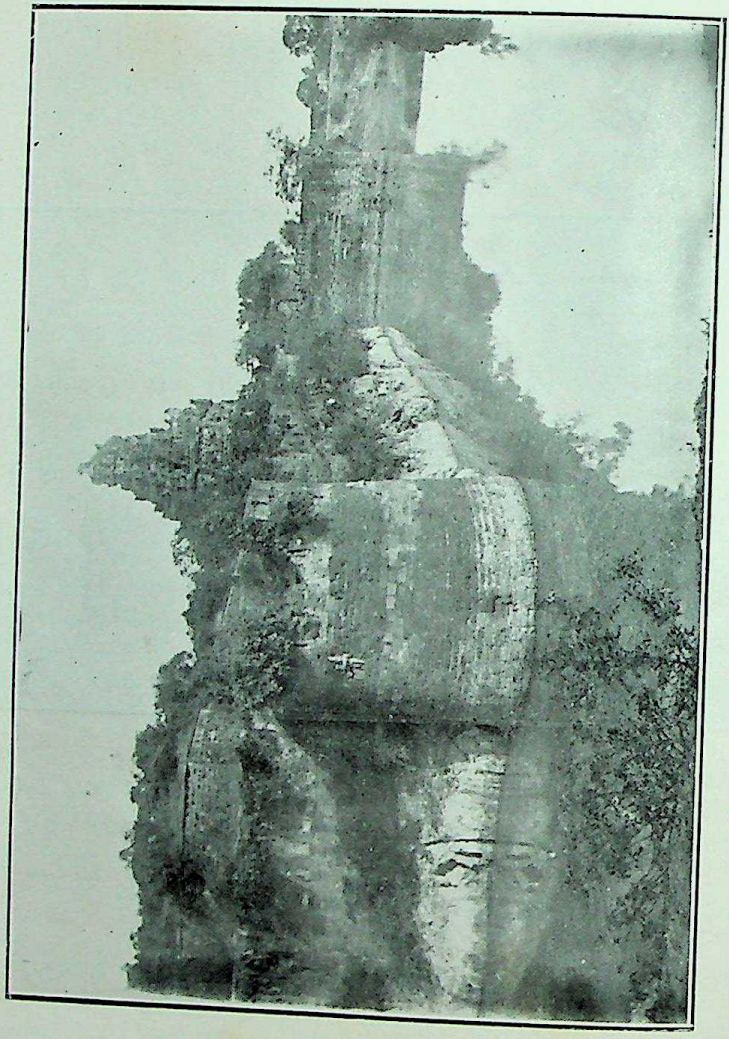

Sivaganga Fort—View with moat and Brihadisvara Temple.

[*Copyright—Archæological Survey of India.*]

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and the modern town extensions of Ganapatinagar and New (now George) Town in the south. The former contains as has been seen already the Great Temple of Rajaraja, the Sivaganga tank and the Schwartz church, which are all in a good state of preservation. The old walls and the moat are still a fine sight. The larger fort covering nearly an area of 530 acres contains the Palace of the old Rajahs. The fort walls[1] of thick masonry, 15 feet high, have been for the most part knocked down and the moat some three miles long and 15 feet deep filled up, but considerable portions of both remain still. Within, and without the fort, large and substantial houses abound, and the four main streets of the city are fine and broad. On the eastern rampart of the fort is a monster cannon called " Rajagopala ", twenty-four and odd feet in length, ten feet in outer circumference with a bore of two and a half feet, and, it is said it has only once been fired. The city contains within it seventy-four[2] temples administered by the Senior Prince of Tanjore, who is their hereditary Trustee, six others maintained by public, and many others by private organisations.

The Palace on the left of the East Main street is a bewildering series of large and rambling buildings generally attributed to the Nayak and Mahratta periods. Those responsible for their construction do not seem to have followed any settled plan, or to have been guided by anything more definite than the whim of a particular king, or the need of the moment. The result is confusing in the extreme, the general impression left on the mind being of something curious rather than beautiful, and all the same majestic.

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(1) *Vide* Proceedings of the Madras Government Nos. 343 and 389, in G. O. No. 16 dated 16th January 1863. " The town walls will be thrown down and the ditch filled up...The small Fort and its buildings. The walls and ditch round the town of Tanjore and the Palace now occupied by the family of the late Rajah. These are all State property and must be so treated...".

(2) See List *supra* pp. 35-36. The Rajagopalasvami, the Topparankatti Pillayar, and Sri Vasishtesvarasvami temples have inscriptions. *Vide An. Ep. Rep.* 1897. Ins. Nos. 39-51. The two former belong to the Vijayanagar times, and the last in Karantattangudy to the time of the Cholas.

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The entrance is by way of a large quadrangular courtyard. The encircling walls are pierced by big gateways to the north and east, and by a small postern in the north-west corner. The courtyard leads to a many-pillared hall. To the right and left of the main door are shrines to Lakshmi and to Subrahmanya. Paintings adorn the high ceiling, while the outer corridor, on the western side, served as a guard room for sepoys and bandsmen.

A small inner courtyard gives access to a larger one. The archway between is adorned with a hunting picture of the last Raja. Further on, yet another archway has its inner walls enlivened by coloured representations of Hanuman, Lakshmi and Krishna.

On the southern side of the third quadrangle is a building (like a *vimana*) 190 feet high with eight storeys. It is the *Gudagopuram*, which was once the armoury. Fergusson[1] writes of this tower, "As you approach Tanjore, you see two great *vimanas* not unlike each other in dimensions or outline, and at a distance can hardly distinguish which belongs to the great temple; on closer inspection, however, that of the Palace turns out to be made up of dumpy pilasters and fat balusters and ill designed mouldings of Italian architecture, mixed up with a few details of Indian art! It can be approached by a steep flight of narrow stairs situated in the north-west corner of the courtyard in front of the Mahratta hall. By climbing to the summit, a good idea is gained of the interior construction of buildings of the kind. Each of the seven storeys is characterised by a domed central chamber, encircled by arched and pillared corridors, and each treated to a different style of ornamentation. On the second are cupid—like figures blowing bugles, horses appear on the third, the sacred Garuda bird on the fourth and so on. Here was the armoury of the Tanjore Rajas till A.D. 1855. With the death of Sivaji, the last king of Tanjore, the *Raj* become extinct.

(1) *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 416.

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The contents of the armoury became useless to the family, and the British Government decided to remove them. The whole array consisting of many very valuable blades of European workmanship were removed to the Trichinopoly arsenal, and after a committee of officers had solemnly reported the ancient arms unfit for use in modern warfare, the Government after selecting the best for the Museum, ordered the residue to be broken up and sold as old iron in A.D. 1863 [1].

The chief sights of the Palace are the two great Durbar Halls of the dynasties of the Nayaks and the Mahrattas, the Raja Sarfoji Sarasvati Mahal Library, and a 'private' palace temple of Sri Chandramaulisvara, the family deity of the Mahratta Rajas.

The majestic throne room of the Mahrattas faces a square courtyard, above which it is raised by about three feet. A fine effect is lent by the many large pillars that support the lofty roof, circular in shape and smooth. These tall columns are coloured a rich tone of red, and are entirely decorated with twining garlands of grapes and vine leaves in white paint. From the body of the hall, six brilliantly hewed steps lead up to a stone platform. The centre of the platform is occupied by a slightly raised dais approached by a couple of steps. This supports a glittering canopy, beneath which the Rajas' gilt throne once stood. The walls of the Hall are hung with immense oil paintings portraying all the Rajas of the Mahratta dynasty. The open court in front of this Hall was used once as an arena for bull fight. Rams too were pitted against one another, wrestlers met at close grips, and acrobats performed many wondrous feats.

To the north and the south of the enclosure are screened off upper places from where the ladies of the zenana witnessed the proceedings.

(1) *Indian Antiquary*, VII—"Old Indian Armoury."

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On the east of the third quadrangle is the Telugu Durbar Hall of the Nayak kings. It is much simpler in its general scheme of decoration than that of the Mahrattas. In front, three massive columns rise up to support a facade elaborately decorated with plaster figures. The floor is ornamented with alternate squares of black and white. Five steps lead up to a very remarkable slab of gneiss $18' \times 16' \times 2'\ 1\frac{1}{2}''$, sculptured in *alto relievo*, *suras* and *asuras* fighting, formerly occupied by the throne, but now used as a platform to support a fine white marble statue of Raja Sarafoji by the sculptor Chantrey. He is standing with the palms of his hands joined as if in prayer, and he wears the triangular turban used by the Tanjore Rajas. The statue and the Saras-vathi Mahal Library are situate opposite, in the same quadrangle, and form a public trust gifted over by the Tanjore Royal family.

The Maharaja Sarfoji's Sarasvathi Mahal Library, has a remarkable collection of about 30,433 Sanskrit and other vernacular palm leaf manuscripts and 6,426 printed volumes, besides a large number of journals. This library is unique in India, and, according to Dr. Burnell, who has catalogued the Sanskrit manuscripts which are the largest in number, the library represents the result of three hundred years of collecting by the Nayak and Mahratta Rajas, dating from the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century. He attributes all the *nagari* manuscripts to Mahratta times, a considerable number of which was collected at Benares by Raja Sarafoji in about A. D. 1829.

A recent addition to the library is a fairly large number of manuscripts in the *Modi* script of the Mahratti language. They formed part of certain court records [1], and as they contained valuable information about historical matters, civic, educational, and sanitary and other details of the administration of the Mahratta Rajas of Tanjore, they were added on to the library with the permission

(1) O. S. 3 of 1929 on the file of the District Judge of Tanjore West.

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of the District Judge. The following paragraph from the Court Commissioner's report will be found of interest :—

"Occasionally, records relating to some matter of historical or other public interest turned up. The 9th head or class is a heterogenous group and comprises many different matters. The Danes obtained from the Nayak Rajahs of Tanjore under a grant in 1620 Tranquebar and a few villages adjoining it; they continued to occupy them till 1845 when the British East India Company acquired them by purchase (*The Tanjore Dist. Manual* by the late Dewan Bahadur T. Venkasami Rao, page 124). The Danes were paying an annual subsidy to the Rajahs of Tanjore and the British continued the payment till about 1852. Papers relating to the payment of the above subsidy are found in Bundle No. 1, sub Nos 44-57 etc. The exact date of the birth of the last Shivaji Maharaja is not known. Papers relating to his tonsure in childhood, etc., may help to fix that date. There are again papers relating to his several marriages, of his installation, and of his death. Papers relating to similar events in the lives of some of the preceding Rajahs are also found in the records. There are papers to show that the Rajahs were alive to their civic duties. The provision made by Sarafoji Maharajah for water supply by the repairs to the big Sevvappa Naicken tank outside the fort walls and the protected Sivaganga tank inside the fort, the institution of a filtering or other device called the *Jala Sustram* (ஜல சுஸ்தரம்) in the acqueduct leading from the bigger to the smaller tank, the provision made by that Rajah for effective drainage of the fort by the construction of masonry drains in the main and small streets of Tanjore, the working of an institution similar to that of the municipality called the *Nagara Parishkara Sabha* for the proper sanitation of the town, etc., are all found among the records. There were courts of justice established by the Rajahs called the *Mudrita Sabha*, *Dharma Sabha* etc. To a student interested in studying the legal systems of procedure in vogue in former days, the records containing the proceed-

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ings of these *Sabhas* will be of much use. Records relating to the establishment and maintenance of *Vedapatasalas*, schools of art, etc. and of the Saraswathi Mahal Palace library now called the Tanjore Maharaja Sarafoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library are found among the records. There are also records relating to the levy of land and sea customs and of excise duties by the Tanjore Rajahs and by the East India Company. During the invasion of the country by Hyder Ali, it appears that the idols of Sri Tyagarajasvamy of Tiruvalur, of Rajagopalasvamy of Mannargudi, Sri Kamakshi Amba of Conjeevaram and idols of other places were brought to the Tanjore fort for safety. Paper sub No. 1 of Bundle No. 1466 gives an account of the honours paid to these deities when they came to Tanjore. There is a notification in Tamil of 1820 of a pearl fishery at Negapatam."[1]

The library also contains several large portfolios filled with interesting and valuable colour prints, an illuminated volume of Quran, the earliest palm leaf manuscript of the Maha Bharata and others. The library is now constituted a public trust, and is managed by a Committee consisting of the District Collector, the District Judge, the Junior Prince of Tanjore and two non-officials nominated by the District Collector, and the Junior Prince.

Madamaligai is the name of the tower which rises from the palace roof, at a little distance, beyond the *Gudagopuram*. It is six storeys high, and possesses more than a hundred very narrow steps. The traditional account of the building is, that it was built by a Nayak King to gaze across in the direction of Srirangam (Trichinopoly) to enable him to worship Sri Ranganatha, every midday, that it was many storeys higher still, certain portions came down struck by lightning, and the present remains were subsequently repaired and preserved.

The *Sangita Mahal* or Music Hall is a miniature of the surviving court of Tirumala Nayak's (A. D. 1623-59)

1 *Vide* Adm. Rep : Tanjore Palace Sarasvati Mahal Library for 1929-30.

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Palace in Madura. It is a large detached building close by entered by a low massive antique portico. The floor of the interior was sunken, much resembling a huge swimming bath, and a covered gallery ran round the wall above, whence, it was said, the ladies of the court in old days used to look down below the games, wrestling matches, and music contests.

The *Chandramaulisvarasvami* temple, within the Palace premises is a private shrine for family worship by the Rajas of Tanjore. It was declared a private institution, and maintained from out of the private estate of the Ranis ever since A.D. 1866[1], and, still under the possession and management of the royal house. The shrine contains very valuable crystal Lingas, and other images of rare workmanship. In the courtyard of the shrine, the sacred rites necessary for the marriages of the royal family of the Mahrattas take place, as well as their other sacred and secular functions.

A labyrinthine dark passage (இருட்டு மறால்) which runs zig zag for a considerable length in the central portion of the main palace is of much interest to all sightseers.

The Rani's handsome Clock Tower near the Raja-Mirasidar's (now the Government Headquarters) Hospital was built in A.D. 1833 by the Municipality at a cost of over Rs. 19,000, of which a sum of not less than Rs. 12,000, and the site of the building were the gift of the Ranis of Tanjore.

The Tanjore District was the scene of the earliest labours of Christian Missions in India. In A. D. 1706, the German Protestant Missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plutschan established a Lutheran Mission in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. This was extended to Tanjore in A.D. 1778, by the Rev. C. F. Schwartz of the same Mission, who sometimes previously had transferred his services to the S. P. C. K., and again to the S. P. G. Mission in

(1) *Vide* G. O. No. 2231, dated 27th August 1866.

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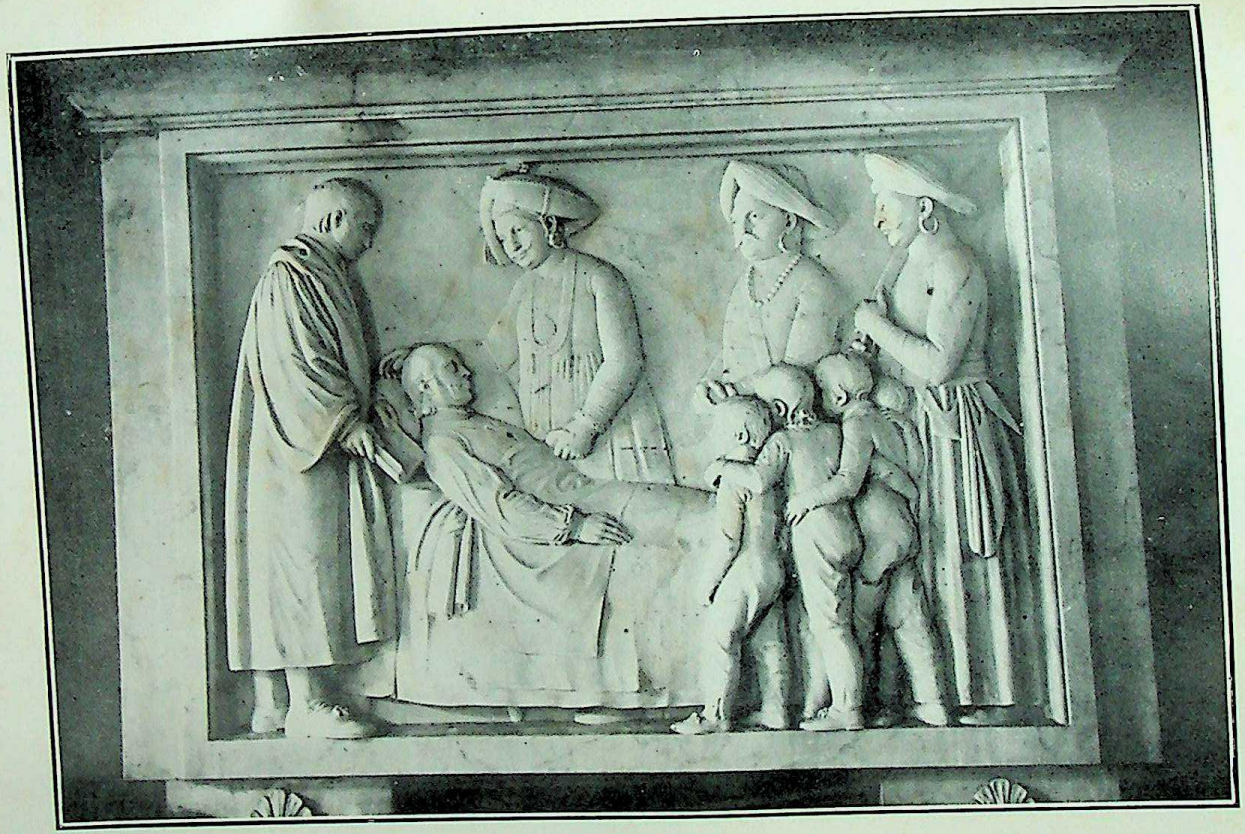
A. D. 1826, which continued its work. The Roman Catholic Missions in Tanjore also date from the first half of the 18th Century long before the Protestant, and, the city is one of their principal seats. There are two large and substantially built Protestant Churches, the Schwartz Church, originally called Christ Church, in the smaller fort, and the other the St. Peter's Church in Mahar-nombu-chavadi. The former was at the beginning a mud wall church erected by Major Stevens, in which Rev. Schwartz officiated to the English garrison and other Christians, both Indian and European. The English service was held here till June A. D. 1798, when, on the restoration of Sarafoji to the throne, the British troops evacuated the adjacent small fort and the temple. Tamil service was thereafter conducted permitted by the Rajah, and, it is now performed annually once on the morning of the New Year's day. This church—"a striking and gratifying memorial of Christian excellence and of Hindu gratitude and affection" is a gift of Raja Sarafojis in token of his affection and esteem for Rev. Schwartz, and was constructed by him in A D. 1779. Its interior contains a marble tablet by Flaxman representing in basso-relievo, the death bed of Schwartz, Gereike the missionary standing behind him, two ministers of the Rajah, three boys from Schwartz's School around his bed, and Raja Sarafoji at his side grasping the hand and receiving the blessings of his dying friend. The following verse composed by Rajah Sarafoji and inscribed on Schwartz's tombstone in St. Peter's Church is of significant interest:

" Firm was thou, humble and wise,
" Honest, pure, free from disguise ;
" Father of Orphans, the Widows' support
" Comfort in sorrow of every sort,
" To the benighted dispenser of light
" Doing and pointing to that which is right,
" Blessing to princes, to people, to me ;
" May I, my father, be worthy of thee
" *Wishes and prayeth thy*
Sarabojee".



Sculptured panel in marble of Raja Sarfoji visiting Rev. Schwartz in his death bed (chapel within the smaller Fort.)

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The latter St. Peter's Church was the outcome of the need for a more spacious and permanent church as the congregation increased rapidly, and, financed largely by Government for its construction. In this church is deposited the last remains of Rev. Schwartz (*d.* 1798) as also of Jenichi (*d.* 1800) and Kohlhoff (*d.* 1844). The small house north-west of the former church and close to it, is said to have been Schwartz's residence till 1780 when he moved to Mahar-nombu-chavadi. Two substantial and commodious houses are also attached to the two churches. The mission has large endowments in money and lands left by its founder Schwartz and his princely ward Rajah Sarafoji.

The amenities of social life are amply provided by the Theosophical society, the Union Club, and the English Club, and, the more recent Sudarsana Sabha, the Young Men's Literary Association, Kumara Gana Sabha, the Cosmopolitan Club, and other younger associations. The Karanthai Tamil Sangam founded in 1911 at Karunttattangudi, and, to which is attached a Higher Elementary School, an Orphanage, a Library and a free Dispensary is the premier centre of Tamilian education in the *Chola Desa*. Its monthly publication (தமிழ்ப் பொழில்) '*Tamil Polil*' is a high class Journal of Tamilian research and Literary criticism.

Traces of the ancient Chola fortifications, or, of their residential palaces are not found in the vicinity. It may be that in the palmy days of Chola supremacy, the capital Tanjore extended as far as Vallam [1] in the south, and Arkadu [2] in the north with the great Rajarajesvaram Temple at the centre. Remnants of old fortifications exist there still, which bespeak the whispers of an old time tale.

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(1) Vallam, a small town, on a small plateau, seven miles south-west of Tanjore, had a strong built fort, few traces of which except the moat, now remain. It is one of the healthiest localities in the district, on an elevated level, well drained, and well ventilated, and is the residence of the Collector of the district.

(2) Arkadu, now a small village about 6 miles north-west of Tanjore, famed as early, in Sangam period, and referred to in *Ahananuru*.

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